A NEW HISTORY OF

GREAT BRITAIN

R. B. MOWAT

PART II

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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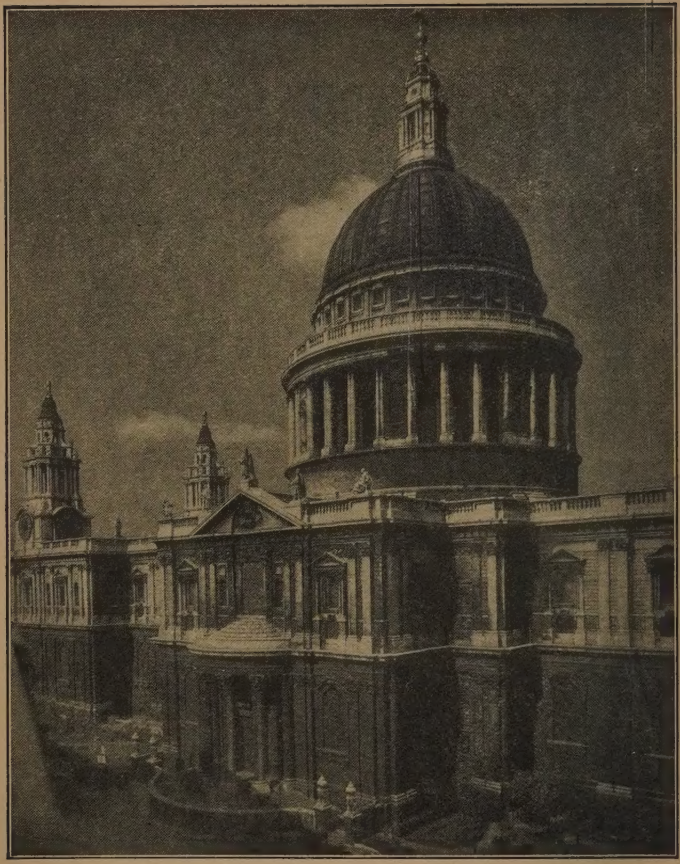
Queen Anne 1702—1714

(Seven years war
settlement of France & Eng.
in India



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, BUILT 1675–1710

Designed by Sir Christopher Wren

A NEW HISTORY OF

GREAT BRITAIN

BY

R. B. MOWAT, M.A.

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PART II

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I TO THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

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PREFACE

THE story of England has been written many times; and, as one new history follows another, doubt is sometimes expressed concerning the need for yet one more. Nevertheless, if new text-books were never written, both teaching and learning would soon become stereotyped. It is true that the facts remain the same, but the current views about them vary almost from year to year. The old text-books contained a strictly political view of history: they chronicled the births and deaths of kings, the battles and the sieges, the beheadings of favourites and traitors, and the statutes passed by Parliament. The nineteenth century produced histories on a grand scale, such as those written by Macaulay, Froude, Freeman, Gardiner, and Lecky; these, which dealt only with special periods of English History, had comparatively little effect upon the text-books. The best account of English History, as a whole, was that written by John Lingard, a Catholic priest, whose last volume appeared in 1830. Lingard's work comprised eight volumes, and was written in a philosophical manner and with strict attention to contemporary sources. There was, however, no single-volume History of England which conformed to this standard of scholarship, and which gave to social and economic movements the same attention as to campaigns and constitutional changes, till John Richard Green wrote his *Short History of the English*

People in 1874. This book, which at once sprang into extraordinary popularity, has become a classic; it is a work of genius, and still stands unrivalled for its literary beauty, its imaginativeness, its sympathetic rendering of the past.

Green, like every one else who tries to compress the story of England into one volume, had to take a selective view; for instance, he emphasized, in some centuries, literary history, in others, social. There are many gaps in his narrative, due to the imperative need of compression; and to these gaps we owe his singularly full treatment of other parts of our history. The *Short History* was not a complete statement: it was not meant to be such; but it is the account of what struck a man who possessed both knowledge and genius, as being the most important aspects of English History.

It is because any 'short history' of the English people must be selective in its method, that there will always be room for another. Moreover, fresh light is continually being thrown by research on almost every subject in the past. It is the duty of teachers to-day to keep abreast of these developments; and the text-books must be correspondingly up to date. Further, with the changing conditions of modern life, the emphasis of teaching must be modified. The facts remain always the same, but the educational value which they offer varies from period to period. In the reign of Queen Victoria it was necessary for a well-educated man to know much about the development of the Constitution, and something concerning foreign affairs, and the Empire and the social development of the English

people; but now the orientation of people's minds is not quite the same as it was. Constitutional affairs still bulk largely, as do also military affairs; but in addition a deeper knowledge of economics and social history, a closer touch with imperial development, and a more detailed acquaintance with foreign policy, are now necessary for every boy or young man who wishes to understand the trend of English life to-day, and to take his part in it.

I have tried to bear all this in mind in writing a short History of England; to give a continuous account of the life of the English nation, dealing fully with all those aspects of it that are still with us, so that for those who read it the past may throw light on the present and the present on the past. I have endeavoured, as much as space permitted, to let the past speak for itself, through the written words of those who were themselves spectators and actors. I have not tried, in any sense, to 'write down' to the minds of young people. The 'simple' language of many text-books is quite artificial; in the schools, just as much as at the University, teachers do not talk to their pupils in exaggeratedly simple language, but in the words of educated men, putting aside technicalities and pedantry; and so in this book I have written, so far as I can, the ordinary literary English, which every careful teacher uses and which boys and undergraduates understand. The youth of England are ardent, unselfish, quick to notice the nobler side of life; and I have tried to write of the past in a way that is worthy of them.

R. B. MOWAT.

Corpus Christi College,
March 1920.

I wish to express my grateful acknowledgements to Mr. W. E. Haigh for permission to use genealogical tables from his admirable *Analytical Outline of English History* (Clarendon Press).

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HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

PART II. FROM 1603 TO 1815

CHAPTER XVII

THE GENESIS OF THE GREAT REBELLION

The greatness of the Stuart Period. In the sixteenth century had occurred the Reformation, and, a little later, the wonderful efflorescence of English letters with Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, Sidney, and others who are only lesser lights because the first stars were so bright. Great, however, as was the sixteenth century, the seventeenth seemed greater still. Milton, Dryden, Defoe, and Swift belong to this age, although the two last belong to the eighteenth century also; the majestic prose of Clarendon, the haunting allegories of Bunyan, the bold speculations of Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke, the golden eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, the mathematical genius of Isaac Newton, mark this century as one of the greatest in the history of thought and letters.

Socially, it was an age of quiet and effective development. Land was carefully farmed, fens were drained; the towns, without becoming markedly industrial, flourished with many useful handicrafts, carried on by master-workers in their homes. Overseas colonies were established—New England, Virginia, Carolina—and the foundations were laid of the British Empire in India.[1]

The striking political events of the period, the Rebellion and Revolution, have taken men's minds away from contemplating the brilliant and yet solid achievements of this great age. Yet the momentous results of the Rebellion and

[1] For the seventeenth century colonies in America, see p. 402; and for the Indian settlements, see p. 620.

Revolution must be remembered too—the liberty of speech and act, the constitutional form of government, which have been models to the whole world.

The reign of James I. The Great Rebellion, which began in 1642, was, as it were, brewing and germinating all through the reigns of James I and his son. There were three causes which contributed towards it. The first was the dependence of James upon favourites, a tradition which marred the early years of the reign of Charles I. The second cause was the arbitrary and autocratic methods of Charles in obtaining money from the country; the third was the religious policy of the first two Stuarts.

JAMES I

A favourite is a person who owes his high position in the councils of the State not to his ability or experience in affairs, not to his services to the public, but solely to the personal regard of the monarch. Such a position causes despair to the regular officials, whose advice is disregarded, and it gives opportunity to infinite intrigue and corruption on the part of those who, outside the regular official avenues of promotion, seek to advance their interests through the influence of the favourite.

For the first nine years of the reign the country was fairly satisfied under the administration of King James and his Secretary, Cecil, who became Earl of Salisbury, a son of Queen Elizabeth's wise counsellor, Lord Burghley. Cecil had some of the characteristics which English statesmen were to display in the eighteenth century. He belonged to the large class of landed gentry, which was becoming the governing class of England. Born to affluence, but not to great riches, educated for politics, administration, statesmanship, he took to the career of governing, as the natural profession for him to follow.

Cecil died in 1612, and James, who had always tended to trust in favourites, gave his whole confidence to Robert Carr, a Scottish gentleman whom he made Earl of Somerset. Carr's public career ended with a scandal; he and his wife were found (in 1616) to have been parties to the poisoning of a friend who stood in their way.

The next favourite was George Villiers, the handsome son of a Leicestershire squire, who had died and left him nothing wherewith to make his fortune but good manners and good looks. The mother obtained an introduction for her son at Court, and the King, who was attracted by the very charming young man, soon made his fortune. In 1619 Villiers became Lord High Admiral of England, and was brought into the innermost counsels of the King. He obtained from James the title of Duke of Buckingham, together with pensions and estates.

The Thirty Years' War. James's daughter, the beloved Princess Elizabeth, had in 1612 married a Protestant German Prince, Frederick V, 'Elector Palatine' of the Rhine. Splendid as his fortune was, brilliant as was his Court at Heidelberg, he aspired to be something greater. In 1619, the Protestant nobles of Bohemia, wishing to get rid of their Habsburg rulers, offered the crown to Frederick. He accepted it, and ruled as King at Prague for one short winter. At the battle of the White Hill, Prague, 1620, he was routed by the Catholic princes of Germany. He lost Bohemia, and within two more years had lost the Palatinate too, which was occupied by a Spanish army. Elizabeth and her family found a home among the Dutch. Thus began the fearful Thirty Years' War. It was a religious struggle, involving all the German States, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and finally France; but Great Britain had no direct share in it.

The Spanish Marriage Project. King James was a man of great learning, of high intellectual powers, and with a genuine desire to promote peace. To this end all his foreign policy was directed. He refused to engage actively in the Thirty

FRONT OF BRAMSHILL HOUSE, HAMPSHIRE.
Built between 1607 and 1612. The Gothic form still underlies the wealth of classic ornament.

Years' War. He hoped by making a marriage between his son Charles and the 'Infanta' (the eldest daughter of the King of Spain), to detach Spain from the Austrian alliance, and to obtain, with the help of Spanish influence, the restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick.

The projected marriage came to nothing, although in 1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham visited Madrid, to woo the Infanta and to arrange the terms of the marriage. The ridiculous adventure only had the effect of making the British public fear, not without some justification, that James's Government was ready to suspend the laws against Roman Catholics in England. Spain, in English eyes, was still the fanatic power, ever menacing the Reformation settlement, and consequently the liberties of England. Against any concessions to the Catholics the Puritans set their face, and opposition to the Crown at once became strong.

Parliamentary History. James reigned for twenty-two years, and in that period held four Parliaments. Each Parliament (except the second) had several sessions, which lasted for only a few months at a time. The first Parliament lasted in all from 1604 to 1611; the second (known as the 'Addled Parliament') existed for only seven weeks; the third was from 1621 to 1622; the last was in 1624. Between the second and the third there was an interval of seven years—to be compared with Charles I's eleven years of 'Personal Government'—when no Parliament sat at all.

In every session James was involved in friction with the House of Commons, or with the House of Lords, or with both. The questions over which the King and Legislature quarrelled were Religion, Money, and Foreign Policy.

The first question was Religion. In the later part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Puritanism had been growing very strong; and when James came to the throne the Puritans were anxiously expecting some relaxation of the restrictions which they had endured under the old Queen. On his leisurely journey from Scotland to England in 1603, James had been

presented with a petition signed by 825 Puritan ministers (not by a thousand, though it was called the *Millenary Petition*) asking for mitigation of the laws against all who refused to conform to the established system of public worship.

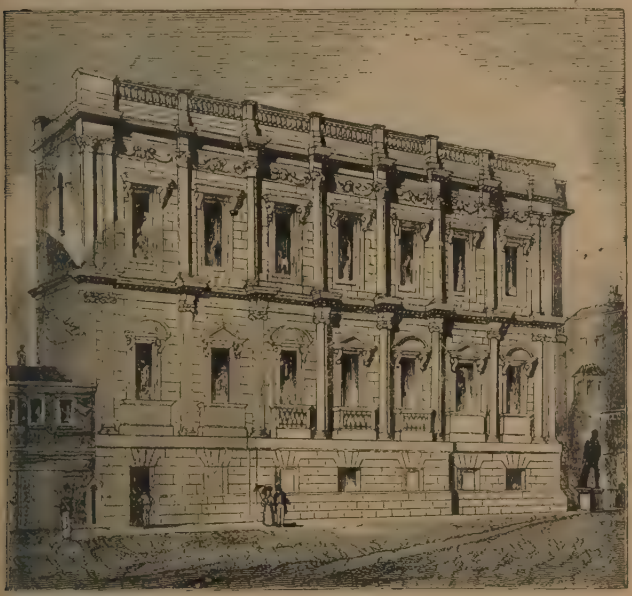
LONDON BRIDGE, 1616

James was unfavourable to the request, so that it may be said, in the words of the historian Henry Hallam, 'his popularity had vanished away before his arrival in London'.[1]

Yet James did not immediately shut the door to all chance

[1] Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. i, ch. vi.

of compromise. In 1604, at his pleasant river-side palace of Hampton Court, he held a Conference attended by eighteen prominent Church dignitaries and four Puritan clergymen. The result of this was that a few minor alterations were made



WHITEHALL PALACE, THE BANQUETING HALL
Designed by Inigo Jones, 1622, and marking a definite break with Gothic tradition.

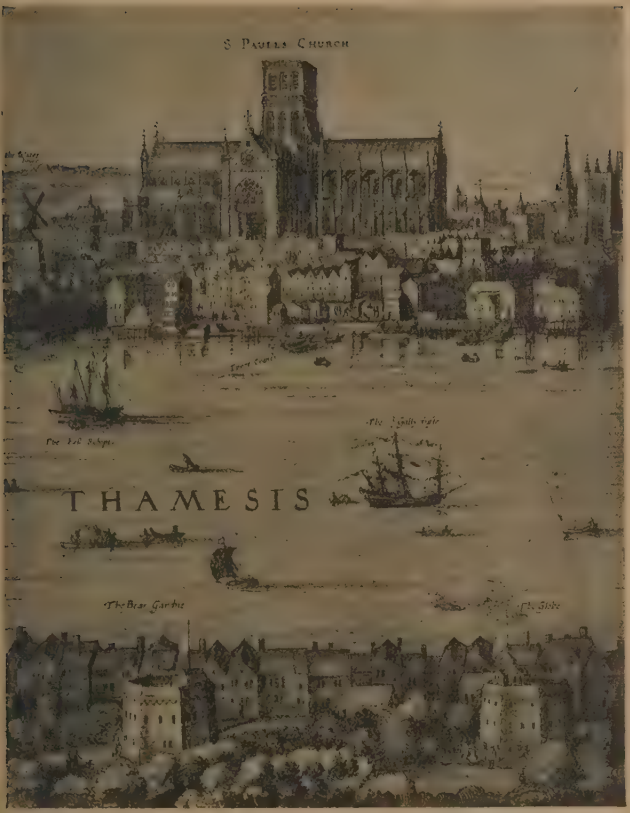
in the Church service, but the Puritans were in no way satisfied ; nor were they more pleased with James's remark (made during the Conference, at which he was present) : 'I know what would become of my Supremacy, for *No Bishop, No King*' ; still less did they like his concluding warning to all Puritans : 'I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the land.' In fact,

he could not have spoken more plainly: 'Presbytery', he said, 'agreeth with King as well as God with devil!' Far, indeed, from making concessions to the Presbyterian form of worship, he actually tried to weaken it even in Scotland, where it was the national Church; in 1612 he succeeded in getting the Scots Parliament to recognize the episcopal authority. The English people would have been more openly opposed to James's church policy, had not the Gunpowder Plot occurred to make them think that perhaps toleration was rather dangerous. The 'Guys' which English boys carry through the streets on the afternoon of November 5, serve to remind us that on that day in the year 1605, Guy Fawkes, an Englishman who had served in the Spanish Army, and Robert Catesby, the heir of a Warwickshire squire, just failed to blow up both King and Parliament.

Money, as well as religion, troubled James's relations with his first and second Parliaments. He increased the rates at which Tunnage and Poundage had to be paid, and he obtained a decision in the Court of Exchequer against the 'Turkey merchant' Bate who refused to pay them (1606). The Second or Addled Parliament was so angry with James's Impositions that it refused to pass any of his measures and was dissolved (1614).

In the third Parliament the dispute raged chiefly over Foreign Policy. Parliament wanted to see England pursuing a vigorous policy of intervention in the Thirty Years' War. James, on the other hand, rightly or wrongly, thought he would get his way with the Germans and Spaniards by negotiation. He arrogantly told the Commons that it was not their business even to discuss foreign policy, and he warned them particularly 'not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain'. The Commons replied with a Protestation that

> 'the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, state and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, . . . are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament'.



OLD ST. PAUL'S, THE BEAR GARDEN, AND THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1616

This Protestation was inscribed in the Journals of the House (December 18, 1621), but it will not be found there now, only a marginal entry stating: 'King James, in Council, with his own hand rent out this Protestation.'[1] Like nearly all the Parliaments of the first two Stuarts, the Parliament of 1621 was dissolved in heat by the King. One of the things it had done was to impeach the eminent judge, philosopher, scientist, historian, and essayist, Francis Bacon (Viscount St. Albans) of bribery. He was sentenced to imprisonment at the pleasure of the King, who released him after a few days spent in the Tower of London.

The fourth and last Parliament passed an important statute forbidding the granting of monopolies in trade or commerce to any individuals or to political or other corporations (1624); and it induced James to send an expeditionary force of 12,000 men, under the command of Count Ernest von Mansfeld, up the Rhine to drive the Spaniards out of the Palatinate. Mansfeld was an able mercenary soldier, but not the man to lead an English army; and besides, the men were ill equipped and their provisioning was shockingly neglected. They never reached the Palatinate; most of them perished helping the Dutch in the long siege of the Spanish garrison of Breda (1625).

It was therefore amid failure and gloom that James died on March 27. Yet some of the things which happened in his reign have come to a great fruition; in 1608 he had 'planted' Ulster with Scottish colonists; in 1607 he had authorized the expedition to Virginia, which began permanent settlement there (Jamestown); and in 1620 the 'Pilgrim Fathers' from the *Mayflower* landed at Cape Cod in Massachusetts, and began to make a *New England*.

Charles I. Charles was the sort of man who ought to have made a splendid king. When he succeeded to the throne he was only twenty-five years old. As a boy he had been

[1] See Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents* (Oxford, 1898), p. 313, n. 2.

sickly, yet he came, says Sir Philip Warwick, 'to have as firm and strong a body, as most persons I ever knew'. He had beautiful, strongly marked features, dark hair, which he wore long, in the style of a gentleman of that day; his mouth was firm, his eyes large, clear, and calm. He rode well, played tennis excellently (chiefly in the old court at Hampton Court), was always moderate in eating and drinking; 'fruit he would eat plentifully', but 'betwixt meals he never meddled with anything'.[1] In manner he was dignified, and he spoke slowly, with an air of serious thought. He would tolerate no loudness or impropriety in his Court, and he was extremely regular and devout in attending religious worship. Convinced of his own good intentions, he could never believe himself to be in the wrong; so that he was impatient of all opposition. When the Great Rebellion came he bore all the hardships of campaigning with an easy mind, and perfect health of body; when he came to die, he met his fate with splendid quiet courage. Yet this monarch, with so much good in him, became involved in intricacies, and at times seems to have entangled himself in deceptions and untruths; but this was long after his accession to the throne.

When he became King, Charles, as he had long learned to do, gave all his confidence to the Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham had been eager for the 'Spanish Marriage' project. Failing in this, he had arranged with King James that Charles should marry a French princess. The treaty was arranged, but James died (March 1625) before the marriage was completed. The lady chosen was Henrietta Maria, daughter of the great King Henry IV of France. She had something of the firmness of mind of her father, but lacked his tact and good nature. She was fond of her husband, yet proved his evil genius. As a Catholic, and as having great influence over her husband, she increased the

[1] *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I*, by Sir Philip Warwick (see *Characters of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. D. N. Smith (Oxford, 1918), p. 53).

impression in England that the Reformation Settlement was in danger.

The Île de Rhé. The vagaries of Buckingham's policy soon brought on war with France, in spite of the marriage of Henrietta Maria. The Huguenots were the Protestants of France, tolerated, after long civil wars, by the French Crown, and allowed to have a fortified city of their own, La Rochelle. Queen Elizabeth had given some support to the Huguenot rebellions both with men and money, and had helped them to make their peace. By 1627, however, trouble had again arisen with the French Crown. La Rochelle was being besieged. Buckingham took a naval and military expedition to help it in this year. He landed in the Île de Rhé, opposite the port of La Rochelle, but after over two months of hard fighting was forced to return, with a loss of over half his men. The expedition had been grossly mismanaged, the ships were badly equipped (one was said to have the same rigging as it had used when sailing against the Armada), the soldiers badly fed and not paid. Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth in August 1628 by a disappointed officer, John Felton, whose pay was about £80 in arrear, and who had been passed over for a captaincy. Buckingham deserved a better fate; though a poor statesman, and no general, he was a dashing soldier, and, in spite of his fine ways, shared all the hardships of a campaign with his men, sleeping like a common soldier on the marshy ground of the Île de Rhé, and exposing himself in the front of the fight with the utmost bravery. Charles loved him, and after Buckingham's death never gave his confidence to any one else.

The break-down of Parliamentary Government. Charles I held three Parliaments before he embarked on the policy of Personal Government (1629 to 1640) which brought him to the Great Rebellion. With each successive Parliament his relations became worse than ever. The income of the Crown was little more than in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet all the public services, and the Court, had to be maintained on

a more liberal scale than under that very frugal queen. Moreover, the value of money had been falling ever since the middle of the sixteenth century, owing to the amount of silver which came from the mines of Peru and Mexico. The supply of the precious metal becoming greater, its purchasing power became less; so that, with rising expenses, the King had an income from taxes which was actually less than his predecessors had received. Parliament, however, would not vote more money, as long as Charles conducted all his affairs through Buckingham and refused to have them investigated.

The Five Knights' Case. A real crisis, which might have given rise to the Great Rebellion even then, occurred in 1627. In order to raise the forces necessary for the expedition to the Île de Rhé, Charles had recruited men by 'press', that is, simply by seizing them and forcing them to serve. Money was also wanting, so Charles asked for a loan (which no one meant to give, and which the King could not repay), and he proceeded to collect the loan by force; those who refused to pay were fined before the 'Star Chamber'. The Star Chamber was the Privy Council, the regular administrative body of the Government, sitting as a law court. Five especially independent knights (Darnell, Corbet, Erle, Heveningham, and Edward Hampden) who refused to pay were put in prison. When they applied, as was their right by Common Law, to be charged with their offence and tried in a regular court, they were refused, and kept in prison without trial. The reason the judges gave for this decision was that the King 'by special command' could imprison any one 'without cause shown'. 'If no cause of the commitment be expressed, it is to be

CHARLES I

presumed to be for matter of state, which we cannot take notice of.'[1]

Thus the 'Five Knights' remained in prison at the King's discretion. Very shortly afterwards, it is true, he set them free, but his point was gained: he had established a precedent for doing as he pleased with the bodies and property of his subjects.

The Petition of Right. When the third Parliament of Charles I met in 1628, it was determined to bring about at least the dismissal of all those who gave bad advice to the King. Under the British Constitution, the King himself cannot be considered ever to do wrong. It is therefore necessary for the country to have some control over his ministers. This is what is called 'Responsible Government'; the King can do no wrong, and cannot be called to account, but his ministers and advisers can; and this prevents autocratic arbitrary government. Charles, however, not merely (as was right) claimed to be himself free from criticism, but would allow nothing less than the same treatment for his advisers. So that the nation's hands were tied; it could neither control the King, nor in any way check the ministers and officials through whom he acted.

The Parliament met after the disastrous expedition to the Île de Rhé, but before the assassination of Buckingham. The House of Commons vigorously demanded an inquiry into the conduct of the expedition, and wished to 'impeach' Buckingham before the House of Lords. Charles would have no inquiry, though ships and men were lost and the good name of England besmirched. All this he did to shield the Duke. The House of Commons then brought forward a Bill, called the 'Petition of Right', and, after a long controversy, Charles assented to it. It declared the illegality of levying either loan or tax by compulsion without parliamentary authority; of imprisoning any English subject without due process under the law of the land; of billeting soldiers in private houses,

[1] Lord Chief Justice Hyde's Judgement on the Case of the Five Knights. See Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 64.

and of the issue of commissions of martial law in time of peace. Charles's Government, in order to coerce people to give him money, had billeted soldiers in men's houses, so as to cause both great expense and very serious domestic trouble :

'And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm and to the great grievance and vexation of the people. . . .' [1]

This was to cease. At first Charles tried to satisfy the Commons with an ambiguous answer, 'The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm'. But Parliament would not take this for an answer, so at last he had to give assent in the regular form : *soit droit fait comme il est désiré.*

The second session (1629) of Charles's third Parliament was even more stormy than the first. The goods of a member named Rolle had been seized by the King's officers, because he had not paid Tunnage and Poundage, a tax which Parliament had not authorized. Sir John Eliot, one of the members for the county of Cornwall, wished to treat Rolle's imprisonment as a breach of the privileges of Parliament. John Pym, who had been one of the most active supporters of the Petition of Right, was in favour of making the subject a general question for the whole people. 'The liberties of this House', he said, 'are inferior to the liberties of this kingdom. To determine the privileges of this House is but a mean matter, and the main end is to establish possession of the subjects'—by which he meant the right of people to keep their own property as against arbitrary taxation by the King. Most of the members, however, took Eliot's view of the question, and excitement ran high in the House. The King adjourned Parliament in order to let passions cool.

[1] Petition of Right. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

When the House assembled again, the subject of grievances against the King was at once renewed. On March 2 Charles sent another order for adjournment. When the Speaker, Sir Heneage Finch, rose to deliver it, two members of the opposition party, Denzil Holles and Benjamin Valentine, rushed forward and held him down in his chair, while Sir John Eliot read three resolutions against innovations in religion, the levy of Tunnage and Poundage, and against any one who should pay it. The doors were locked, and the resolutions carried amid a hubbub. When the doors were opened, and the members had gone to their homes, Charles dissolved Parliament. Eliot was imprisoned for his conduct, and died of consumption in 1632 in the Tower of London 'by the cruelty and harshness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation' (Grand Remonstrance, article 15).

The Personal Government. Up till 1629 Charles had held three Parliaments. His experience of the last, however, had made him resolved to rule without any more in the future. There is no law of the Constitution which compels the sovereign to summon Parliament every year; it is only the necessity of providing for the annual expenses of the kingdom which makes the annual meeting of the Legislature, as a rule, inevitable. Charles, however, hoped by economy to make his ordinary income balance with the expenditure of the Crown, so that he should be independent of Parliament.

The financial resources of the King, which did not depend upon an annual grant, were chiefly the rents of the Crown lands, customs dues, feudal dues (fees for knighthood and so forth), and the fines levied in the law courts, particularly in the Star Chamber, a court composed of the King's councillors, which was chiefly used to fine men for contempt of the King's commands. Yet when everything was scraped together, there was still not enough to pay for the ordinary expenses of the country. The income was £618,000; the expenditure was £636,000. Another method had, therefore, to be devised: the Crown decided to levy Ship Money.

Ship Money. Taxation for the upkeep of the Navy, without parliamentary authority, had been levied on a fair number of occasions, especially during the Middle Ages. In time of imminent national peril, if the danger is too pressing to admit of delay and the summoning of Parliament, it is the right and duty of the Crown to levy money, and to make every use of the property or services of the people, necessary to secure the safety of the country. But this extraordinary power which the Crown, and under the Crown the whole Executive Government, has, to act without the ordinary legal procedure, must be exercised only during an emergency. When there is time and opportunity for using the ordinary legal process (for instance, the process of asking Parliament, or any other means provided by the common law), the Crown must not act simply on its own authority. Its 'discretionary power' can only be used in grave emergency, when the ordinary methods recognized by the Constitution are not sufficient.

In his action with regard to Ship Money, Charles and his advisers cannot be said to have acted with perfect honesty. The first writ for the levy of 'Ship Money' was issued in 1634, when England was at peace. Moreover, the writ was sent out on August 4, but the shipping, or the equivalent in money, which was asked from the ports, was not to be delivered till the 1st of March following. Parliament might have been summoned in the interval at least to ratify the action of the King. Ship Money was again demanded by Charles in 1635, this time not merely from ports, but from inland counties. It was, in fact, becoming a permanent tax, without any consent on the part of the tax-payers or their representatives. It is true that the Ship Money was all spent, honestly and usefully, on the Fleet. This does not excuse the manner in which it was levied. During the whole period of personal government (1629–40) Charles acted as though there was a pressing emergency, which did not admit of his consulting Parliament; an 'emergency' of eleven years' duration is impossible.

John Hampden. Both James and Charles used the law courts and the great authority of the English Bench to support their 'Prerogative', that is, the power of the Crown to act without parliamentary authority. Judges at that time only held their office at the pleasure of the Crown (not for life); and both James and Charles, by dismissing judges (for instance, Chief Justice Coke, dismissed in 1616) who did not agree with them, had managed to secure a Bench inclined to take

A HANGING. For the Costume of the Period

the most favourable view of the Crown's action. In order, therefore, to ensure that his financial resources should be completely independent of Parliament, Charles instituted a prosecution in the Court of Exchequer against John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, of good family and ample means, of the highest character, and one of the most respected men in the country. He was a supreme type of the most powerful class in England, the class that was the greatest obstacle to royal autocracy—the country gentlemen.

If the Crown could win its case against such a man, with

the eyes of all England upon him, the law would be established completely in favour of personal government, and the King would be unfettered. The Court of Exchequer decided (1638), by seven judges out of twelve, that the levy of Ship Money from John Hampden's estates was legal. The King could raise such an impost during an emergency, and 'his Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided'.[1]

A PEDLER. For Costume. See also pp. 374–7 for the growth of Vagrancy

There was now no other course open to the English people but to submit to the King's autocracy, or to resist it by force. There was no redress to be obtained through the law courts; nor could the laws be amended by Parliament, because Charles would not summon it to meet. Thus the King, by cutting off every legal and constitutional means by which his people

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* [Answer of the Judges], p. 109.

could change a situation felt, rightly or wrongly, by them to be intolerable, had made rebellion certain.

Archbishop Laud. Charles's adviser in all that had to do with the Church was William Laud, Bishop of London from 1628 to 1633, and after that Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, who had been President of St. John's College, Oxford, was a well-educated man, but without wide knowledge or interests. He was sincerely religious, and desired to see all the people living in peace and unity. For this reason he deplored all sects and schisms in the Church, and laboured by all means to produce uniformity of worship throughout the land. The English, however, were an undisciplined people, disliking coercion of every kind, and especially in religious affairs, in which they believed the Reformation had given them complete freedom. Laud insisted that congregations should all observe the same procedure at the Holy Communion, that the Communion table should be placed at the east end of the chancel, and that every one should bow towards the table on entering the church. Fines were inflicted to promote uniformity, and the most determined opponents even suffered cruel mutilation, in the loss of one or even both ears. The old laws were on Laud's side, and as Parliament was not meeting there was again no lawful means of changing them.

The Bishops' War. Hostilities actually broke out in connexion with the Crown's policy towards Scotland. The Presbyterian system of Church government (that is, a Church without bishops) had been established in Scotland under James VI, before he became James I of England. James felt that the interests of the monarchy would be better served by episcopacy than by the Presbyterian system, which savoured, he thought, of republicanism. He had been a king only in name in Scotland: 'no bishop, no king', was what he said to the Puritan divines of England in 1604. It was for the same reason that in 1606, and the following years, he re-established a few of the old bishoprics in Scotland. Charles

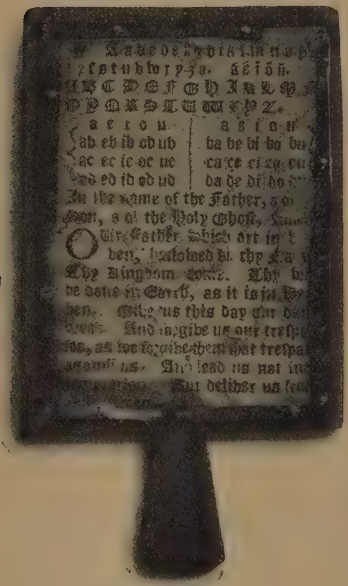
followed his lead. In 1633 he went to be crowned in Scotland, which was separate from England in Constitution and Government, although it had the same king. The ceremony of coronation was carried out by the Scottish bishops. In 1636, a Prayer Book of a 'High Church' character was drawn up by Laud, and commanded to be used by all the Scottish clergy and congregations, who up till then had used no fixed or printed liturgy at all. The attempt to use the Prayer Book in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, in July 1637, provoked a riot, which within a few months became a war.

In February 1638, the chief nobles and gentry and Presbyterian clergy of Scotland signed the 'National Covenant'. The Covenant declared the worship of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland to be the true worship for the country, and that none other should be recognized there. Thus Charles's prelates and his whole episcopal system in Scotland were condemned, along with

'the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civil magistrate and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty; his erroneous doctrine against the sufficiency of the written Word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ and his blessed evangel . . . his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men; his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage, forbidden in his Word; his cruelty against the innocent divorced; his devilish mass; his blasphemous priesthood; his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the quick; his canonization of men, calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics, and crosses, dedicating of kirks, altars, days, vows to creatures; his purgatory, prayers for the dead praying or speaking in a strange language; with his processions and blasphemous litany, and multitude of advocates or mediators; his manifold orders, auricular confession; his desperate and uncertain repentance; his general and doubtsome faith; his satisfaction of men for their sins; his justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of supererogation,

merits, pardons, peregrinations and stations; his holy water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, sacring, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith; his worldly monarchy and wicked hierarchy; his three solemn vows, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts; his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody band conjured against the Kirk of God.'[1]

A HORNBOOK OF THE TIME


a e i o u
ab eb ib ob ub
ac ec ic oc uc
ad ed id od ud
In the name of the Father,
Holy Ghost,
Father, which art in
heaven, hallowed be thy
Thy kingdom come. Thy
be done in Earth, as it is
heaven. Give us this day our
And forgive us our
as we forgive them that
against us. And lead us not
but deliver us

EDUCATION

The vigorous language of the Covenant, a comparatively moderate manifesto in the history of the Reform controversy, gives some idea of the intensity of religious feeling at that time, and of the sheer impossibility that Charles should force his views upon such a people. The defiance shown towards Charles's system of religious government was a defiance of his whole system of autocracy. The King accepted the challenge, got together an army, and set out for the Scottish border. The Scots Covenanters, on their side, had collected a fine volunteer army, officered by skilful soldiers who had fought under King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in the Thirty Years' War. This army posted itself on Dunse Law near Berwick (June 1639).

[1] The Scottish National Covenant. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

When the two forces appeared against each other, the force of freedom and the force of autocracy, it was the force of autocracy that collapsed. There was no fighting; Charles recognized his hopeless military position, and signed the Treaty of Berwick (June 24), promising to let the Scots settle their religion in a 'free Parliament' at Edinburgh.

A SCHOOLMASTER WITH SCHOLARS

EDUCATION

The end of personal government. Charles now turned to the ablest official in his service, Thomas Wentworth, now created Earl of Strafford, who had been his Deputy or Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. Strafford saw that the system of personal government had failed, and he wisely advised the King once more to summon Parliament, the link, which for eleven years had been missing, between the Government and the people. So in April 1640 the 'Short Parliament' met. Charles asked for a million pounds, and offered to give up the levy of Ship Money. Parliament asked for more concessions, and the King impatiently dissolved it (May 5). He now resolved to make one more effort to vindicate personal government. The Scots had, under the Treaty of Berwick, declared the abolition of episcopacy, but Charles could not submit to this. He pressed together an army again, and

advanced north. The Scots, on their part, did not wait for him to come; they crossed the border, forced the passage of the Tyne at Newburn (August 1640), and Charles found himself again compelled to sign peace. By the Treaty of Ripon (October) he agreed that the Scots army should remain under arms, at the King's expense, until the religious question should be settled. Personal government had hopelessly broken down. So Charles again, and for the last time, was fain to have recourse to a Parliament to settle his difficulties, and especially to provide him with money, so that the Scottish army might be paid and then disbanded.

Crown and Country. When the 'Long Parliament' met on November 3, 1640, there had been open war in the island for over a year. Charles had failed to put down the Scottish rebellion, because the English people, as a whole, had shown not the slightest inclination to take part on the King's side. The Puritans, who objected to Laud's 'High Church' customs, the country gentry, who resented being excluded from Parliament and public affairs, the townspeople and merchants, who feared arbitrary taxation, were all determined that the laws should be amended, so as definitely to remedy the grievances of which they complained. There was to be no longer the possibility of eleven years of personal government by the monarch. If Charles showed himself determined to retain autocratic power, there would be war. If 'Constitutional Government' could be secured for the future, there might be peace. The history of the Long Parliament shows that Charles did indeed grant practically everything necessary to ensure Constitutional Government and the rule of law in the future; and yet this did not prove enough; and the war between Crown and Parliament ensued. The reason was, that the 'Parliamentarians' considered good laws by themselves to be an insufficient guarantee; they would not trust Charles to keep the laws, if he retained control of the militia, the armed force of the country. They therefore demanded that the control of the militia should be

transferred from Crown to Parliament; Charles refused, and war ensued.

The Long Parliament. An examination of the actions and the legislative measures of the Parliament shows the concessions made by the King to have been wonderfully great, for such a proud man, for one who, in spite of certain questionable actions, was himself so conscious of his integrity.

The Commons began by impeaching the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud before the House of Lords. The real offence of Strafford was that he was a strong man, who believed in a system of thoroughly efficient government, carried on by rather autocratic means. The Commons believed that if he were left alive, Charles might again be able to set up personal government. Strafford had proved a very efficient Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had trained a military force there, which the Commons feared might be brought over to England to coerce recalcitrant subjects.

As Strafford represented the system of autocracy in secular matters, so Laud was considered to represent it in religious affairs. Therefore the Puritans had made up their minds that Laud must go too. A doggerel verse current at the moment expressed their view:

> If Strafford were once away
> Canterbury would make no stay.[1]

When the trial of Strafford 'by impeachment' before the House of Lords was found not to be proceeding exactly as the Commons wished, they brought in a Bill of Attainder, to have him executed by Act of Parliament for high treason. The Bill passed both Houses, and King Charles, although he did not feel himself lawfully bound to sign all Bills, gave his assent (May 10, 1641). Strafford met his fate calmly, having, in the hope of saving the Crown, actually urged Charles to sign the death-warrant. This shameful abandonment of his best servant by Charles seems to have been due to the knowledge that, if he did not let Strafford be executed, the Commons

[1] *Baillie's Letters.*

would impeach the Queen, who, they believed, exercised political influence over him. Even while he was hesitating about signing, a mob had gathered round Whitehall and howled for vengeance against Strafford ; and if baulked of Strafford's death they might have turned against the Queen. Laud,

THE NAVY. Peter Pett (1610–70), Master Builder, and a ship of his designing

after being kept in prison for four years, was executed by Parliament in January 1645.

The Reforming Acts. A striking series of Bills was passed by the Long Parliament and assented to by the King, and seemed to make it certain that Parliament would never again be left out of the counsels of the Government. The first was the Triennial Act (February 1641), which provided that a

Parliament should be held at least once every three years. The second Act stipulated that the present Parliament should not be dissolved by the King without its own consent (May). This was an extraordinary concession, and gave the Parliament unlimited time for carrying out its measures of reform. Next the courts, over which the Government had special control, were abolished (July 1641): these were the Star Chamber, the Council of the North Parts, the Council of Wales, and the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission. Another measure made Ship Money illegal. Towards the end of this wonderful year of legislation, a long statement of grievances was drawn up, and ordered by the Commons to be printed. This was the famous Grand Remonstrance (November 1641), in 204 clauses, which specified, one after another, all the abuses of Charles's personal government, although the blame was actually put upon the King's 'malignant' advisers.

The Grand Remonstrance. The Grand Remonstrance began with a temperate introduction, in which, among other things, the Commons asked the King to choose only such ministers as had the confidence of Parliament. This is what is now called the system of Responsible Government, where the ministers are responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The rest of the document was not so pacific; it was in effect nothing less than a grand accusation against Charles and his policy, bringing his power into contempt, and showing monarchy now to be no more than a shadow of its former self. The Remonstrance was so drastic that it seems as if the Commons meant to do away with Charles as king altogether, either by making him abdicate, or by some other means.

The Grand Remonstrance was made a sort of test by the most determined part of the Opposition to the Crown. It separated the moderates (the Constitutional Royalists) from the extreme Puritans, and only passed in the Commons by a majority of eleven votes. Oliver Cromwell, one of the members for Huntingdon, remarked to Lord Falkland on leaving the House that if the Bill had not passed, 'he would

have sold all he had the next morning, and never seen England more'. 'So near was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance,' adds Clarendon in his *History of the Rebellion*.

The Impeachment of the Five Members. The narrowness of the majority for the Remonstrance had shown many men averse from the extreme policy of the Puritans and ready to support a moderate Constitutional Monarchy. Charles, who had assented to all the Reforming Acts, was now on firm ground. Suddenly he cut it from under his feet by an un-

PASTIMES. A game of Backgammon

constitutional act, from which no possible advantage could be gained. He had promised the statesmanlike Clarendon (Edward Hyde) to take no decisive step without consulting him; but almost immediately afterwards Charles suddenly appeared with an armed force before the House of Parliament, personally to impeach five members of the Commons and one member of the Lords (January 3, 1642). The accused members were Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazlerigge, Strodè, and Lord Kimbolton (afterwards Earl of Manchester).

The scene is described in a report of the House of Commons :

'Many soldiers, Papists and others, to the number of about five hundred came with His Majesty on Tuesday last to the said House of Commons, armed with swords, pistols and other weapons, and divers of them pressed to the door of the said House, thrust away the door-keepers, and placed themselves between the said door and the ordinary attendants of His Majesty, holding up their swords and some holding up their pistols ready cocked near the said door and saying, "I am

PASTIMES. A game of Chess

a good marksman; I can hit right, I warrant you," and they not suffering the said door according to the custom of Parliament to be shut, but said they would have the door open, and if any opposition were against them, they made no question but they should make their party good, and that they would maintain their party.'[1]

Clarendon himself does not question the substantial truth of this statement, and points out that Charles, by his foolish

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 239.

act, threw away a great part, if not all, of the support which he had recently been gaining :

' The truth is it cannot be expressed how great a change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of people, in town and country upon these late proceedings of the King.' [1]

It is the privilege of members of Parliament to be able to debate freely in their own House, and without this power of free speech the usefulness of Parliament would disappear. Charles, by impeaching the members for their words and actions in Parliament, had once again entered upon the disastrous path of striking at the liberties of the nation. He did not even gain his immediate purpose, for the members had escaped from the House when the King made his undignified entry into it.

The opening of war. The reply of the Commons to this was to demand that the whole military and naval power of the Crown should be delivered into their hands. For this is what the Militia Bill (March 1642) practically meant. If Charles had assented to it, the Parliament would have had command of all forts and of the militia, that is, of all the English subjects when called out under arms. He refused his assent, and chose war instead. Indeed, there was no alternative course open to him, if he was to remain King at all. On April 23 Charles came before the fortress of Hull, and found that the Royal Governor, Sir John Hotham, had barred it against him. The Commons, under whose instructions Hotham was acting, had in effect deposed the King.

The Irish Rebellion. The situation which both the King and Parliament had to face was immensely complicated by events in Ireland. For in the autumn of 1641 a terrible rebellion had been started there, and was raging all the time that the Civil War was going on in England. The Rebellion began with a rising of the native Irish against the in-comers who had settled upon their lands in Ulster. Numberless

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion.*

people were murdered, and the most fearful atrocities were committed. The English and Scottish settlers retaliated, and the war in Ireland became a savage struggle, partly racial, partly religious. Large tracts of the country were desolated, and if France or Spain had chosen this time to land an army, nothing could have saved Ireland from coming under a foreign power. The Irish Catholics, out of hostility to Puritanism, detested the English Parliament, and offered their support to Charles; and these negotiations between the King and the Catholic rebels, although they came to nothing, greatly damaged Charles's reputation. Until Charles was defeated in England, the Parliament had no forces to spare for Ireland; and it was not till eight years after the Rebellion had started that Cromwell, by his iron methods, brought peace to the country (see pp. 357–9).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The spirit of the combatants. The war between Parliamentarians and Royalists in England (1642–9) was very different in character from the Thirty Years' War in Germany. The Thirty Years' War began as a religious question, and ended in a struggle for territory. The Great Rebellion began as a constitutional question, to define the respective rights of Crown and Parliament. Towards the end, religious feeling appeared more prominently: 'Religion', said Cromwell in a later speech, 'was not the thing at first contended for, but God brought it to that issue at the last.' Religious struggles always become very bitter, yet the Great Rebellion was less bitter than most. The executions of Laud in 1645 and of King Charles in 1649 were largely due to religious feeling, but no others in England seem to have been put to death on account of their faith.

Although much more of a national concern than the Wars of the Roses, the Great Rebellion did not absorb the resources of the whole country. The ordinary size of an army was 7,000 to 10,000. Sometimes it rose to 15,000, occasionally to 20,000. The discipline on the whole was good. The King's forces were the worst offenders: they sacked Bolton in May 1644, and Leicester in May 1645. The supplies taken for the Parliamentary armies were paid for. But the forces of the King, as his money gradually became exhausted, were not quite so scrupulous, and the cavalry of Prince Rupert (Charles's nephew, son of the ex-King and Queen of Bohemia) gained a bad reputation for plundering. When Charles was besieging the important town of Gloucester on the Severn in 1643, he was unable to find supplies in the surrounding country; yet when the Parliamentary army, under the Earl of Essex, came up to relieve the city, provisions were at once produced from various hiding-places in the country-side for the army that could pay and did not steal:

CHARLES I AS AN ARCHER

'The Earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three days; and in that time which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the king's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without

a connivance from the king's commissaries, could not have been done.'[1]

Throughout the war, both sides fought with great determination, each to force its will upon the other. Yet they did not on this account fight with cruelty. Prisoners were taken, and found their lot tolerable. The Republican, Edmund Ludlow, when a prisoner with the King's army at Oxford, found a friend of his family on the King's side, and received courteous treatment. He says in his *Memoirs* that collections of money were made in London, and sent to Oxford for the relief of prisoners.

The King's forces. To Charles's side there rallied not all, but by far the greater number of the nobility, and also a majority, though not so large a majority, of the country gentlemen. There were those upon the King's side, like 'the incomparable Lord Falkland', who disapproved of his unconstitutional measures, yet felt bound to fight for him, rather than join in rebellion against their lord, the lawful head of the nation. The lot of such men as Falkland was pathetic, forced as it were to fight for a cause which had little more than half their heart. At the first battle of Newbury, in September 1643, Falkland sought and found release in death from these unhappy troubles.

'Before this parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune. . . . He was a great cherisher of wit and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune. . . . He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within ten miles of Oxford he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that University, who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgement in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in anything, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.... From the entrance into this unnatural war his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to; yet, being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the King's return from Brentford and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness.... In his clothes and habit which he had intended before always with more neatness, and industry and expense, than is usual to so great a mind, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent.

FALKLAND

. . . When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous and exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace, Peace; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart". . . . In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers, from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: whosoever leads such a life needs not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.'[1]

Other cavaliers were not so thoughtful as Falkland, held the 'Roundheads' to be base rebels, and stood by the King out of pure loyalty, almost prejudice, without reflection. Robert Browning has correctly imagined the views of those men:

I

Kentish Sir Byng stood for his King,
Bidding the crop-headed Parliament swing:
And, pressing a troop unable to stoop
And see the rogues flourish and honest men droop,
Marched them along, fifty-score strong,
Great-hearted gentlemen, singing this song.

II

God for King Charles! Pym and such carles
To the Devil that prompts 'em their treasonous parles!
Cavaliers, up! Lips from the cup,
Hands from the pasty, nor bite take nor sup
Till you're—

Chorus. Marching along, fifty-score strong, &c.

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

III

Hampden to hell, and his obsequies' knell
Serve Hazelrig, Fiennes, and young Harry as well!
England, good cheer! Rupert is near!
Kentish and loyalists, keep we not here.
Chorus. Marching along, fifty-score strong, &c.[1]

The Parliamentary forces. The King was strong in cavalry, for the country gentry came to him with their own horses

AN ARMY ON THE MARCH

and also mounted their tenants. Parliament had a certain number of country gentlemen too, but for the most part it had to depend on hired men, by no means all trained to arms and to field sports, like the cavaliers, and altogether of a poorer quality. Cromwell, years afterwards, recalled this early type of Parliamentary army, in a speech to the Commonwealth Parliament:

'I had a very worthy friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going into this engagement,

[1] R. Browning, *Marching Along.*

I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not. "Your troops", said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters and such kind of fellows; and", said I, "their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the spirit of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: "You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go: or else you will be beaten still." I told him so. I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one.'[1]

A PIKEMAN

It was after giving this advice that Cromwell resolved to remodel the Parliamentary army. Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire of small property, had distinguished himself in the local fighting between Roundheads and Cavaliers in the eastern counties. He found then that the small farmers and yeoman tenants, men of some means and of indomitable Puritan views, made magnificent fighters; and he resolved to make these the basis of the 'New Model' army. The immense will-power and silent capacity of Cromwell impressed all who came near him. His influence in the Long Parliament grew with each year of the war. Thus he was able to induce Parliament to pass the Self-Denying Ordinance (April 3, 1645), according to which all Members of Parliament resigned their commands in the army (see pp. 347–9). This brought about the retirement of the Presbyterian generals, including the Earl of Manchester and the Earl of Essex, neither of whom

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Speech XI.

had been very successful, and ultimately concentrated military power in the hands of Cromwell and the 'Independents', who differed from the Presbyterians chiefly in allowing freedom to each separate church congregation to settle its own affairs. The 'Independent' part of the Long Parliament was the most determined to do away with the King's power, the most resolute to carry the war through to a complete defeat of the Royalist party.

The local war. The war was fought out in two ways, which might be called the local and the central. The local war went on in every county, where the gentry took sides, and either defended or besieged country houses, or carried out small raids. Such is the warfare described so well in Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Edmund Ludlow was a stalwart Republican, the son of a country gentleman, and a member of Trinity College, Oxford. He raised a troop of horse in Wiltshire, defended Warder Castle in that county, fought an action in Salisbury town, was taken prisoner and sent to Oxford. He was subsequently exchanged, and took a prominent part in conquering Ireland for the Commonwealth. His descriptions of the local fighting in Wiltshire give a good picture of what was taking place everywhere:

'This is how the defence of Warder Castle was prepared: We got in some cattle for our provision, but the Enemy drawing into the Villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing in any more: Yet we ventured one Morning, knowing it to be Market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty Pikes and Firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a Mile from the Castle upon the Road that leads to Shaftsbury. According to our expectation the Market-people came with Carts and Horses loaded with Corn and other Provisions, which we seized and sent to the Castle, paying for it the Market-price, at which they were not a little surprised. By this means we furnished ourselves with three Months more Provision than we had before; which we had no sooner taken in, when the Enemy drew round the Castle and from that time blocked us up more closely raising a Breastwork by casting up of Earth about a Tree which we had cut down

on the side of a Hill ; from whence they commanded the Gate of the Castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our Men, amongst the rest my Gunner, as they fetched in wood.' [1]

The central war. Apart from the local strife of Cavalier and Roundhead, there were the grand campaigns, and the great battles of the field armies. It was these battles that settled the issue of the struggle. Charles for most of the time had his head-quarters at Oxford, where the colleges provided good accommodation for his court and gentlemen ; the town itself was defended by the numerous streams which for miles around run into the Thames and Cherwell. Oxford proved to be a place of great strength ; and even after the battle of Naseby Charles was able to return to it. In 1646 it endured a five months' siege, and this time Charles was only able to escape from it disguised as a servant (April 27, 1646). All through the Civil War skirmishes had taken place at five to fifteen miles' distance from the town, and it was in one such engagement that John Hampden was killed in 1643, having encountered some of Rupert's troops at Chalgrove Field, about thirteen miles south-east of Oxford. His loss was a great blow to the Parliament, as he was one of its noblest and most moderate members. The description of him forms one of the finest portraits in the great gallery of Clarendon's history.

' He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercise and company, which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all a flowing courtesy to all men ; though they who conversed nearly with him found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs which he apprehended might dis-

[1] Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1698), vol. i, pp. 73, 74.

quiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly, to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgement that was given against him infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed on him, as their *patriae pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempest and rock which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. . . . After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, any expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, on all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might

have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be.'[1]

The Campaign of 1642. By the time summer had come round in 1642, it was clear to Charles that the Parliament men were openly defying him, and that they had engaged the sympathies even of some of his own officers. It was of the highest importance to him that he should hold the arsenals, where such arms and gunpowder as the Crown possessed were stored. It was for this reason that in April 1642 he appeared with a company of men outside Hull, the Royal fortress on the Humber, but was refused admittance (see p. 330). The Parliament warmly approved of Hotham's action, and said that any other course would have been treason—the King, as Charles bitterly remarked, 'being now the only person against whom treason could *not* be committed'. There was nothing for it, therefore, but war, and on August 22 Charles erected the Royal Standard on the Castle-hill of Nottingham; but few people gathered round.

'Melancholy men observed many ill-passages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet levied and brought thither; so that the trained bands which the sheriff had drawn together, was all the strength the king had for his person, and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town, and the king himself appeared more melancholic than he used to be. The standard itself was blown down, the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs, when the standard was set up' (Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book V, end).

Charles had no regular soldiers, and his gentlemen and their followers were at first a motley crew. In September, ill equipped with what they could privately supply, they marched away into the west country (where the King's cause

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

was stronger) 'caparisoned rather like strolling players than like a King and the prime of his nobility going forth to war'.[1]

It was not long before a pitched battle took place. The Earl of Essex and the Parliamentary army went out from London to meet Charles in the West, but Charles, having collected a fair number of men in Herefordshire, Salop, and Gloucestershire, started to cross England and make for London. Essex had gone as far west as the Severn when he found that Charles had departed and was marching for the capital. So he went after the King, post haste, through the Midlands. Just below Edgehill, which 'rises high over the undulating plain of Warwickshire'[2] (about 29 miles distant from Oxford), Charles and Essex met with their armies and fought an inconclusive battle (October 23, 1642). Both sides were very indisciplined. Rupert could not yet control his fiery cavaliers, nor could Essex even completely command the Parliamentary foot. Oliver Cromwell fought in the battle, and was thoroughly disgusted with the exhibition of the Parliamentary army.

A week later (October 29) Charles entered Oxford, where the Colleges loyally placed themselves at his disposal. For the next three years the quadrangles were thronged with handsomely dressed cavaliers and their ladies; Charles had his own establishment in Christ Church, and many animated scenes took place in his somewhat distracted Council there. A regular system of fortifications was constructed round the old city—earthworks and ditches—which remain to this day. But first of all, Charles tried to seize London by a bold dash. Shortly after taking up his quarters in Oxford, he led forth his army by the old road over Shotover and down into the Thames valley. Rupert and his horse scattered the advanced guards of the Parliament at Brentford (November 12), near where to-day the Great Western Railway crosses the Brent and then goes straight into London. Charles should have pressed forward at all costs; but the City militia had come forth

[1] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, ch. viii.
[2] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (ed. 1888), i. 49

ENGLAND
in the
Civil War
Autumn 1643
Districts held by Parl.
" " " King
Parl. strongholds in the Kings Country=Plymouth
Kilsyth
Falkirk
Edinburgh
Dunbar
Dunse Law
Philiphaugh
Newcastle
Newburn on Tyne
York
Marston Moor
Hull
Preston
Lathom House
Manchester
Gainsborough
Winceby
Chester
Rowton Heath
Nantwich
Newark
Belvoir
Ashby de la Zouch
Shrewsbury
Norwich
Birmingham
Naseby
Holmby House
Worcester
Cropredy
Cambridge
Edge Hill
Gloucester
Oxford
Chalgrove
Bristol
Langdown
Roundway Downs
LONDON
Bath
Newbury
Basing House
Bradford
Langport
Wardour Cas.
Winchester
Taunton
Southampton
Exeter
Lyme Regis
Portsmouth
Corfe
Plymouth

to Turnham Green, on the left bank of the Thames between Kew and Hammersmith. There were 20,000 Londoners, chiefly lusty young apprentices, who, however disinclined for distant enterprises, were ready enough to defend London itself. Charles had no stomach for such a fight, and on November 13 he turned back to Oxford. He was never to get so near to London again till he came as a captive.

The Campaign of 1643. For the next year a more elaborate plan was prepared by Charles, in order to get London, for this was the obvious goal of every endeavour. The Earl of Newcastle, the great Royalist nobleman who had raised a foot-regiment of his own (the Whitecoats) in the North, was to break through the Eastern Counties (where Cromwell and the 'Eastern Association' had some well-trained forces), and so to come at London from the Essex side. Sir Ralph Hopton,[1] the successful leader of the local armies of Devon and Cornwall, was to come up from the south-west, and get to London from the side of Surrey or Kent; and Charles was to come from Oxford down the Thames valley. This was the famous scheme for a 'triple advance' upon the capital; London was to be attacked by an army from every side. The army of Lord Newcastle was to occupy the northern bank of the Thames below London, while Hopton's troops occupied the southern bank. The combined forces would thus be able to stop the passage of ships up the river, and thus to starve out the city. This would neutralize the efforts of the Navy, which had joined the Parliamentary side, and had kept London open to the sea.

The converging campaign upon London was a failure. The Earl of Newcastle defeated Lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas, at Ardwalton Moor near Bradford (June 1643), and secured most of Yorkshire (but not Hull) for the King. But Cromwell, with the forces of the Eastern Association (Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Hertford), defeated the Royalist horse at Winceby (near Horncastle in Lincolnshire)

[1] Hopton was a lucky accident; it was Lord Hertford who was originally selected for the Southern advance, and it was to be from South Wales, not from Cornwall. Hopton's plan took its place when it failed.

on October 11 (1643), and showed the men of the North that they would have no unimpeded march. Moreover, Hull was still holding out for the Parliament, and the men of the North did not like to leave the Roundhead garrison behind them. Hull was never taken, so the march of the King's northern forces came to nothing.

Rather earlier in the summer Hopton had got ready to make his advance upon London with the men of the West. Rupert, who co-operated from Oxford with Hopton, captured Bristol in July. In the previous month Hopton had taken Taunton, and in September Prince Maurice (the brother of Rupert) took Exeter. The Royalists, however, could not take Lyme Regis, Dartmouth, and Plymouth. This stopped their advance. The men of the West would not advance towards London, leaving the Parliamentary garrison of Plymouth free to come out against their homes. They beat Waller at Roundway Down near Devizes (July 13), but they would not follow their victory eastwards.

Charles, too, had not a free hand. Bristol was his, but Gloucester, the key to the Severn valley, was still held by Parliament; and Charles felt he must secure this before he would be free to advance on London. So on August 10 he pitched his camp in front of the ancient city; if it fell, the whole West of England would be the King's, and with this safely behind him and most of the North in his hands he would soon make short work of London. Thus the siege of Gloucester was the most critical event of the war.

Both sides strained to the utmost, the Royalists to gain and the Parliament to save the key to the West. The city was well defended, by 'a soldier of fortune', as Clarendon calls him, named Colonel Massey, who left 'nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander'. The Royalist army harried the country round about, and turned all the country people against the King's cause. Then Parliament made a great appeal to the Londoners; and the apprentices, who had never thought of going on a distant expedition,

answered the call. The Earl of Essex led 15,000 men of the City trained bands across the Cotswolds to the Severn valley. The hills were bare and open, but the Severn valley itself, rich in orchard and farm, was all hedged and ditched, unsuitable for Rupert's cavalry. So Charles wisely did not risk a battle there. When Essex's army appeared on the Cotswold edge above Gloucester, Charles and his army were breaking up camp and burning their military works (September 5, 1643).

The King had one more chance, however. He had failed to take Gloucester, but he might yet win London itself, and so end the war. He made towards London, Essex and his apprentices following as best they could. They must have marched well, for on September 20 (1643), Charles found he would have to meet them in battle. Among the fields by Newbury a hotly contested battle took place 'at push of pyke', as Clarendon says; 'one of the most soldierly actions', he adds, 'of this unhappy war'. The Londoners more than held their own; Charles, after sleeping on the field, next morning broke up his camp and retired to Oxford. Gloucester and the West, London and the lower Thames valley, were now safe for the Parliamentary cause.

The Campaign of 1644. The Scots army which had come into the North of England during the Bishops' War (see p. 320), had been paid off by the Long Parliament in 1641; but as things were not going brilliantly for the Roundheads, these renewed their alliance with the Scots in the summer of 1643. This was an unpopular decision, for the Scots were looked upon as foreigners in England; but they had a fine army, and after all the Parliament men would rather swallow their prejudices than be beaten by the King. So they made the *Solemn League and Covenant* with the Scots, promising, in return for military support, to reform religion in England according to the 'word of God and the example of the best reformed churches'. The Scots took this to mean a promise to enforce the Presbyterian system of Church government in England; this made trouble later. The Solemn League

and Covenant was the last work of the great Parliamentary leader, Pym, who died on December 8, 1643, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1644 the Scottish army, led by officers like General Alexander Leslie, who had served at Lützen under Gustavus Adolphus, and had become a Swedish Field Marshal, joined the Roundheads before York. York was defended by the Earl (promoted by Charles to be Marquis) of Newcastle ; and Rupert brought a small army, mainly of horsemen out of the West, and over the hills from Lancashire, and relieved the city. Then the two forces faced each other on the historic plain of York. On the Parliament side were about 25,000 men —including the Scots army and Cromwell's men of the Eastern Association. On the Royalist side Rupert and Newcastle had rather less than 20,000 men, but among them were the finest cavalry in England, and Rupert himself was one of the finest leaders. At Long Marston, eight miles west of York, the momentous battle was fought. The Royalist Colonel Goring with his cavalry swept Fairfax's men off the field ; half the Scots in the centre broke and fled, but the other half remained constant and held their ground with the pike ; while Cromwell, with the East Anglian cavalry on the left wing, actually drove Rupert's famous troopers off the field. Then he came round to the relief of the hard-pressed Scots, and turned what seemed a lost day into a brilliant victory (July 2, 1644). As the relief of Gloucester had saved the Severn valley for Parliament, so the battle of Marston Moor won the North ; and not even the capture of Essex's army by Charles at Lostwithiel (September 2, 1644) in Cornwall could neutralize this victory.

The New Model Army. Marston Moor had won the North country for Parliament, but affairs were still critical. The King was strong, and the Roundhead forces, on the whole, badly led and badly organized. Charles, returning from his successful rush into Cornwall (Lostwithiel), might have been wholly cut off and destroyed at the second battle of Newbury

(October 27, 1644), if the commander, the Earl of Manchester, had been more energetic. At least so Cromwell thought, and he decided in his own mind that a reorganization of the Parliamentary forces was necessary.

Till this point in the struggle there had been no definitely organized Parliamentary army at all. There had been a number of local forces, some raised by private gentlemen, some by committees of counties, or associations of counties (like the Eastern Association); and sometimes the Parliament would take these local forces into its pay, as it did with the levies of the Eastern Association for the campaign of Marston Moor. But the military affairs of Parliament, as a whole, were somewhat irregular; many of the soldiers of the Parliament's armies were enlisted for a single expedition or campaign, and their pay was often in arrear. This was not the way to form an army with a strong *esprit de corps* and discipline; while enlistments by local leaders or associations resulted in bad pay; men often had arrears due to them, and would leave one side and join the other in order to better themselves.

The best generals, like Cromwell, saw that Parliament must have an army of its own, raised, paid, and completely controlled by the Government. They saw, too, that the officers must be appointed for their military ability, not because of their political interest or theological views. Therefore Cromwell insisted, and carried it in the House, that all Members of Parliament should resign their commands, and should submit to be re-appointed or not, as the Commander-in-Chief chose (Self-Denying Ordinance). Fairfax was made Commander-in-Chief, and all the best of the various soldiers and ex-soldiers who had followed Essex or Manchester or the local associations were taken into direct Parliamentary pay. Over eight thousand recruits were required to make up the 20,000 required for the New Model Army. These were raised by pressing able-bodied men into the service. The New Model was not a voluntary force. It was to form a single, professionally trained army, and it did not matter

whether they were Presbyterians or Independents—or even Anglicans—so long as they kept quiet about it. The majority, however, were Independents. Cromwell was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Horse.

The Campaign of 1645. The Self-Denying Ordinance, establishing the Parliamentary army, went through the Houses of Parliament by April 3, 1645. The New Model army was definitely established. The effect was wonderful; the control exercised by one firm mind, the cohesion of one trained army, almost immediately made the Parliamentary cause triumph. Fairfax and Cromwell, not troubling to occupy this part or that part of the country, made for Charles's field army and offered battle. The King accepted the challenge at Naseby, near Market Harborough, in Northamptonshire (June 14, 1645). Prince Rupert's horse, as so often before, broke through the opposing wing of its opponents, and scattered it over the country. But the bulk of the Parliamentary army was left intact and was more than a match for the Royalist foot, which was ill trained and inferior in number, though it fought stoutly enough.

The battle of Naseby was nearly decisive. Charles's foot-soldiers were broken and dispersed. He lost his baggage-train too, and the state-cabinet, containing records of his correspondence with the Irish, Scots, French, and other foreigners. There was still a plundering Royalist force in Cornwall under the energetic, arrogant Goring. Fairfax took the New Model down into the west country, and destroyed this force at Langport on the Yeo (July 10, 1645).

Charles had now nothing to hope for, unless his own people, the Scots, would have pity on him.

On May 5, 1646, having fled in disguise from Oxford, he rode to Newark, and surrendered himself to the Scottish army there; and on June 20 Oxford capitulated. The Scots were proud that their own King, of the house of Stuart, was also King of England; and Charles may have expected that they would leave him at least in possession of the Crown.

The last years of Charles I. The Scots had no desire to destroy the monarchy, but they set more store by their Presbyterian principles. At Newcastle (July 13, 1646), to which place they had removed the King, they joined with the English Parliament in proposing to restore Charles to power, if he would surrender control of the militia for twenty years, would 'be pleased to swear and sign the late Solemn League and Covenant', and would consent to a Bill 'for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors', &c. The first answer which Charles gave to these 'Propositions of Newcastle' was evasive (August 1), and committed him to nothing; the second answer was of the same character (December 20, 1646). Only the third answer (May 12, 1647) was really to the point, and it amounted to a refusal. The reason why Charles took so long to give a clear reply was that, while he was with the Scots (up to January 30, 1647), he hoped to gain his ends by playing off the Scots army, the English Presbyterians, and the Independents, one against the other. On January 30, 1647, he was handed over by the Scots to the Parliament and lodged in Holmby House in Northamptonshire; and in these circumstances, after long temporizing, he felt compelled to give a straight answer.

It was this temporizing policy that ruined Charles. He knew that the English Parliament was mainly Presbyterian, and that the New Model army was mainly Independent. As Clarendon says in his *History of the Rebellion*: 'The very high contests between the Parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe, that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the umpire.' Charles himself thought so too; and his intrigues with both sides, as well as with the Irish and the French, at last convinced the Independents that there was no trusting him, and that death was the only remedy.

It was not long before the Independents gained complete mastery of affairs in England. Now that the King had been

defeated, Parliament wished to disband the army, which was costing much money and keeping taxes high. The army, on the other hand, vigorously protested against the proposal to disband them, and demanded first to receive their full pay, which was now greatly in arrear. In this contest the army was bound to win, for it had the preponderant physical force, and in Oliver Cromwell it had the most decisive mind in the country. To Cromwell the greatest credit is due for having put an end to the mutinies in the army, and for preventing the unpaid soldiers from overturning all government and order.

On June 3, 1647, a troop of horse under Cornet George Joyce, acting under instructions from Cromwell, carried the King away from Holmby House to the army head-quarters at Newmarket; thence he was taken to Hampton Court. There the army leaders offered to make a settlement with the King; this offer was contained in a document called *The Heads of the Proposals offered by the Army* (August 1, 1647). The chief points in it were that 'the power of the militia by sea and land, during the space of ten years next ensuing, shall be ordered and disposed by the Lords and Commons assembled'; and that there should be complete liberty of worship for all Protestants (even bishops to be tolerated), and no one to be forced to take the Covenant. But to this most liberal offer neither Charles nor the Parliament would agree, and in November he escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he gave himself up to the garrison of Carisbrooke Castle. It was while he was there that the Second Civil War took place (see p. 356).

After these events Cromwell determined that they would no longer be troubled by the Presbyterian majority in Parliament or by the King. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Thomas Pride, who was in command of the guard in the Lobby of the House, was given a list of the Presbyterian members; and as each one of these approached the door to enter, he was turned back, and, if he resisted, was made a prisoner.

Altogether 130 members were excluded by *Pride's Purge*. After this, events marched quickly; the House of Commons, now reduced to an Independent Rump, announcing that they represented the people of England and therefore held the supreme power, established a High Court of Justice to try King Charles for treason.

From Carisbrooke Charles had been removed in December to Hurst Castle, a lonely blockhouse on the Solent; in the

WESTMINSTER HALL

same month he was taken to Windsor Castle, and in January 1649 to St. James's Palace. The trial of the King began on January 19 in Westminster Hall; the Court numbered sixty-seven members. The King was accused of high treason for having 'maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people therein represented'. In a dignified document Charles submitted reasons for declining to recognize the jurisdiction of the Court. On January 27, in the presence of the King, the death sentence was read by John Bradshaw, the President of the Court.

On January 29 Charles took leave of his children, and on January 30 prepared for death. Sir Thomas Herbert accompanied him throughout the last months of his life; on the morning of the 30th, the King said: 'Herbert, this is my second marriage-day. I would be as trim as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.' Then he asked for a shirt of more than ordinary thickness: 'Let me have a shirt more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers may imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me: I bless my God I am prepared.' Bishop Juxon read him the morning service; and then accompanied by Colonel Tomlinson, one of Cromwell's soldiers, by Juxon, and followed by Herbert, the King walked between a double row of soldiers across St. James's Park to Whitehall. There he was allowed to rest a while. He took a glass of wine and ate a piece of bread. Afterwards he mounted the scaffold placed before the Banqueting Hall, and in front of a silent crowd declared to Bishop Juxon that he forgave his enemies, and that not he but Parliament had originated the Civil War. He laid his head on the block, and made the agreed sign. With one blow the executioner struck off the King's head, and then holding it aloft pronounced the regular formula: 'Behold the head of a traitor.' On February 8 the body was buried in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

CHARLES I AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH

Charles was a man who, under happier circumstances, and with better advisers, would have been a good ruler. He had been brought up with exalted ideas of the King's personal power, and the disastrous Buckingham had encouraged him along the path of autocracy. His consciousness of his own uprightness, and of the justice of his cause, seems to have prevented him from understanding the desires of the vigorous and somewhat ill-disciplined people over whom he had to rule. In the long negotiations that took place between him and Parliament from 1642 to 1649, Charles occasionally acted without complete straightforwardness. His contempt for the motives of the men who were against him occasionally led him into some double-dealing. His portrait shows a man of a noble countenance, with a dignified and serious, though somewhat proud, expression. He died at the age of 49, in perfect health, and in the prime of life. Clarendon's concluding words on his master's character give the best estimate:

'To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the best king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments and so much without any kind of vice.'[1]

The Commonwealth. At the death of Charles, England was ruled by what was left of the Long Parliament and by the Army. The House of Lords was suppressed by an Ordinance of the House of Commons, which declared that the Upper Chamber was 'useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished'. The House of Commons, after large numbers of members had left it, voluntarily or under compulsion, now consisted only of fifty-six Independent members, known as the Rump. No new elections had been held in the country, most of the original members were dispersed, and yet the preposterous Rump went on, claiming to be the representative of all England,

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion.*

and to have the whole government of the country in its hands. Cromwell, the chief of the army, and his officers, knew that the Rump was not representative of the country's opinion, but for the next four years (1649–53) they were too busy with warfare, the aftermath of the Great Rebellion, to attend to civil government.

The wars arising out of the Great Rebellion. The Scots had not all fought on the side of Parliament. Throughout the year

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. Houses in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1640

1645 James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, had been fighting for Charles with brilliant success in the Highlands of Scotland. The loyal and martial Highlanders fought for him with the same enterprise and vigour with which they fought, a hundred years later, for Prince Charles. Sir Walter Scott, in the novels *The Legend of Montrose* and *Waverley*, has described, as no one else can, each of these great episodes in the history of the Highlands. Montrose was at last overborne by the superior

resources of General David Leslie, at Philiphaugh, in Selkirkshire (September 13, 1645).

In 1648 the Scottish Presbyterian army entered England again, this time in favour of King Charles, for they now regretted that they had handed him over to Parliament (p. 350). They were met by Cromwell and the New Model army at Preston and Wigan, and after a running fight were dispersed. Simultaneously a revolt against the Parliament broke out in Sussex, Kent, and Essex; and part of the Fleet seceded to the King's side. But Fairfax beat the Kentish insurgents at Maidstone, and when they crossed the river shut them up in Colchester, till they surrendered through starvation. So ended the *Second Civil War*.

After the execution of Charles, the fury of the Scots, who were themselves so largely responsible for it, broke out again in war. They had the young Charles (afterwards Charles II) in their hands, and him they made a 'covenanted king', a king, that is to say, who should rule on condition of maintaining the National Covenant for preserving the Presbyterian Church. This drew down upon them once more Cromwell and his invincible 'Ironsides'. He occupied Edinburgh, and then won a lucky victory at Dunbar (September 3, 1650). The war was not over, however, for Charles and the Scots were able to invade England next year, when Cromwell obtained his 'crowning mercy' at the battle of Worcester (September 3, 1651). He describes the crisis he had gone through in a letter to Speaker Lenthall, written, as all his letters are, in a serious religious tone:

'This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part; and in the end became an absolute victory,—and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the Enemy's Army; and a possession of the Town, our men entering at the Enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage. We took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many; and must needs be so; because the

dispute was long and very near at hand; and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about Six or Seven thousand prisoners taken here; and many Officers and Noblemen of very great quality: Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other Noblemen,—I hear, the Earl of Lauderdale; many Officers of great quality; and some that will be fit subjects for your justice. . . . The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness; and the Parliament to do the will of Him who hath done his will for it and for the nation.' [1]

The Irish War. This second war with Scotland had called Cromwell away from Ireland; it was there that the Commonwealth system was in greatest danger. In the reign of Elizabeth the Irish, who had previously felt the influence of the Reformation, were reconverted to Roman Catholicism by Jesuits. They had rebelled against Elizabeth's government, and had received armed assistance from Spain. Elizabeth's great fighting 'Deputies' saved Ireland from Spain, at the cost of much bloodshed. Under James I, the north-east of Ireland, where much land was vacant owing to the long rebellions, was resettled chiefly with Presbyterians from Scotland (1608–11). This 'Plantation of Ulster' made the north-east of Ireland a home of industry, enterprise, and loyalty to the British Crown; [2] it also emphasized the division which existed, though in a less degree, throughout the rest of the country, between Catholic and Protestant.

In 1641 a terrible rebellion broke out, the Catholics aiming at throwing off the English government (see p. 330). When the power of Parliament superseded that of Charles, the rebellion became worse than ever. Protestants were massacred; their land laid waste. Retaliation ensued. In the course of this terrible upheaval, Ireland is said to have lost

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter CLXXXIII.

[2] An earlier and not unsuccessful Plantation was in Leinster—Queen's County and King's County—which were 'shired' and colonized by English settlers (1557). About 500,000 acres in Munster were planted by Queen Elizabeth in 1584.

one-third of her teeming population. In 1649 Cromwell resolved that, at any cost, the fearful struggle must be stopped. He crossed St. George's Channel with a small, but perfectly trained army. The Irish, though they would not submit, could not hold out. Drogheda and Wexford were stormed, and the garrisons slaughtered.

'The Enemy [at Drogheda] had made three entrenchments, both to the right and left of where we entered; all which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered we refused them quarter; having the day before summoned the Town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. . . . This hath been a marvellous great mercy. The Enemy being not willing to put an issue upon a field battle had put into this Garrison almost all their prime soldiers, being about 3000 horse and foot, under the command of their best officers. . . . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one Lieutenant who I hear, going to the Enemy said, That he was the only man escaped of all the Garrison. The Enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood through the goodness of God.' [1]

When Cromwell was summoned back to England by the Scottish War, the conquest of Ireland was partly achieved. It was completed by his son-in-law, Ireton, and by Ludlow, who devotes a large part of his interesting *Memoirs* to a history of the campaigns. He thus describes the capture of Gourtenshegore, a castle near Limerick, after the refusal of the garrison to submit:

'The rest of the men I drew into several parties, and assigned them their particular attacks: Every soldier carried a fagot before him, as well to defend himself, as to fill up the Enemies trenches or to fire the Gates as there should be occasion. . . . Upon our first Approach the Enemy shot very thick upon us and killed two of our men, which so enraged the rest that they ran up to the Works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the Enemy, following them so close, that by means of some Ladders which those within had made use of they got into the Court, and put to the Sword most of those

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii, Letter CIV.

they found there. . . . Lieutenant Foliot finding his Case desperate, resolved to sell his Life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our Men who were nine or ten in number, with a Tuck in one hand, and a Stilleto in the other, defending himself so well with the one and pressing them so hard with the other that they all gave ground ; but he closing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the Body, by which Wound he fell, and the House was quickly cleared of the rest.'

When the war was over, the Irish proprietors who had fought against the Parliament had their lands taken from them. They themselves were driven to live beyond the Shannon in Connaught, and their estates were given to English soldiers and other Puritan settlers.

The task of the Commonwealth. The wars were now, for a time, ended, and the task of the Commonwealth Government was to settle the State upon a permanent basis, according to the principles for which the wars had been fought. Yet seven years more showed that the English preferred the Monarchy, provided they could have it back while keeping the liberties they had won.

In 1653 the old Long Parliament, now reduced to 56 members, was still sitting and voting itself to be perpetual. Accordingly, on April 20, Cromwell entered Westminster Hall and dispersed it. It was an act of sheer force, but the Rump had to submit. A new constitution was drawn up by the chief officers of the army.

The Instrument of Government, 1653. The document which defined the new constitution is called 'The Instrument of Government'. By it Great Britain and Ireland were established as one Commonwealth, 'the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging'. The Government was to consist of one person, called the Lord Protector, and the people assembled, in the persons of their representatives, in Parliament. This Parliament was to have one chamber only, the House of Lords being abolished in 1649. To Parliament there were to be sent 30 members from

Scotland, 30 from Ireland, 375 from England, and 25 from Wales. The Constitution was to be 'rigid': 'the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament' (Article XII). The office of Lord Protector was to be elective, not hereditary (Article XXXII). All forms of the Christian religion were to be tolerated, 'provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the

TRAVEL. Yard at the Star Inn, Oxford, now demolished

profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness' (Article XXXVII).

Toleration. This Article XXXVII of the Instrument marks a step in the history of religious toleration. John Milton, in 1644, had passionately pleaded for freedom of opinion in his pamphlet, *Areopagitica*. Without liberty of expression, the truth could never be debated and discovered, nor would men's minds and virtues be strengthened by hearing every side of a question, and by seeing what temptation means:

'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised

and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat.'

England was reputed abroad to be the home of liberty:

'I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries: . . . when I have sat among their learned men, for that honour I had, and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile

TRAVEL. A Coach in the Seventeenth Century

condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits, that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty. . . . Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out

yearly from as far as the mountain borders of Russia and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts.' [1]

Had the Rump of the Long Parliament had its way, England would have been subjected to a Presbyterian system as harsh and intolerant as the Anglican system of Laud. Cromwell and his officers took a wider view, and left all branches of the Puritans free to worship as they liked, and English Church clergy and congregations to meet and use their ancient liturgy, so long as they did not have bishops over them. The absence of bishops would in the long run have meant the destruction of the English Church, as, according to Anglican views, only bishops can ordain new clergy; but the Commonwealth did not last long enough for this to happen.

The foreign policy of the Protectorate. The Commonwealth, under Oliver Cromwell, soon re-established the prestige of England upon the Continent, and made its name respected. In 1652–4 a successful naval war, caused by the Navigation Act (see p. 377), had been fought with the Dutch. It was in this wise that Robert Blake, then 53 years old, first went to sea, and became one of England's best admirals. A few years later a blow was struck at the Spanish Empire, to make it permit freedom of worship and freedom of trade. When Cromwell made these two demands from the Spanish Ambassador, in 1655, the latter smartly replied that to ask these was to ask for 'his master's two eyes'. The short war that ensued was waged in alliance with France. The island of Jamaica was taken by Admiral William Penn, and made a British colony. Cromwell even suggested, in a remarkable letter to Blake and Montague, his 'sea-generals', that Gibraltar should be taken and made a base for the British fleet:

'To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

'Whitehall, Ap. 28, 1656.

'What numbers are in and about Cadiz, you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not

[1] Milton's *Areopagitica*.

be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntel and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge, the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, which if possessed and made tenable by us, would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge.' [1]

Nearly fifty years, however, were to pass before this idea was to take effect and the invaluable possession of Gibraltar to be added to the British Empire.

Under the Protectorate, the fleet grew in number of ships and men, and from this time has a permanent and increasing place in the national history. Robert Blake, a Lieutenant-Colonel of Popham's Regiment, was the greatest 'sea-general' of the Commonwealth. He died in July 1657 at sea after his great victory over the Spanish Fleet off Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe.

On land the Commonwealth was no less successful. Six thousand 'Ironsides', under General Lockhart, assisted the French at the Battle of the Dunes (June 4, 1658). The Spanish army was defeated, Dunkirk captured, and made an English fortress. The French alliance had been used in another fruitful way. France's neighbour, the Duke of Savoy, had been cruelly persecuting his Protestant subjects, the 'Vaudois', in the Pays de Vaud. John Milton, who was 'Latin Secretary' to the Protector, cried out against this in one of his finest sonnets:

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter CCIX.

When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learn'd thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.[1]

JOHN MILTON AS A BOY

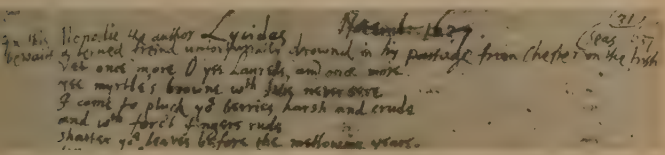
This was written in 1655, when the Anglo-French alliance was being arranged. Cromwell would have withdrawn from the proposed alliance had he not been able to induce the French Government to take action. The Duke of Savoy could not afford to disregard the pressure of France, and the persecution of the Vaudois stopped.

The death of the Protector. At home the task of government was proving almost too difficult, even for the strong-willed, sensible Cromwell. This plain country gentleman, fond of his book, his horse, and his pipe, had become first a brilliant leader of cavalry, next a general, commanding whole armies, pitting himself against some of the foremost strategists of the age; finally he had become ruler of the British Empire. In an age when the spectre of anarchy and destruction stalked through the land he had given peace and order at home, and had secured the freedom of the seas for a thriving English shipping.

He had to rule despotically, like Charles I, though with

[1] Milton, *On the late Massacre in Piemont.*

wiser designs and firmer hand. Yet no man believed more in government by the people, through their chosen representatives: 'I do believe', he told Ludlow, 'in government by consent, but where will you find that consent?' He himself was always looking for it, and tried two Parliaments in succession, but each time Parliament proved unworkable. It took to criticizing the Constitution, a proceeding which Cromwell would not allow; for to change the Constitution at that time would again, he thought, open the door to anarchy. To keep the country in law and order was, he considered, his first duty. 'For truly I have, as before God,' he told Parliament, 1657, 'often thought that I could not tell what my



LYCIDAS, ll. 1–5

From Milton's manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge

business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable, set to keep the peace of the parish.' Thus he excused his (temporary) setting up even of a kind of martial law in the country under 'Major Generals'. 'They have given us', he said to Parliament, 'one day more of the lengthening out of our tranquillity.' As to the Levellers—the people who wished to do away with the distinctions of class and with property—he could not tolerate them.

'A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman—that is a good interest of the Nation. . . . For the orders and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? . . . Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long.'

(Speech to the First Protectorate Parliament, 1654.)

Oliver Cromwell died in Whitehall Palace on September 3, 1658. He was 59 years old. The 3rd of September was the anniversary of his ' crowning mercies ', the victories of Dunbar and Worcester.

The end of the Protectorate. A document drawn up by Parliament in 1657, and called the *Humble Petition and Advice*, made two changes in the Constitution as defined by the Instrument of Government. One change added a Second Chamber, of ' Lords ', nominated for life by the Protector. The second change gave the Protector the right of naming his successor. As he could name his own son, this change had the effect of making the Protectorate hereditary, and something very like a monarchy. In truth, the people were inclining more and more towards monarchy, but it was that of the old family rather than the new dynasty of Oliver. Oliver had nominated his eldest son Richard to succeed him ; but Richard, though quite an honest, sensible man, was not strong enough for the work that had been almost too much for the powerful spirit of his father.

After nine months of troubled rule, Richard resigned his charge, retired to the Continent, and lived at Paris, returning to England about 1680, where he lived the quiet and useful life of a country gentleman, till he died in the reign of Queen Anne, in 1712, at the age of 86.

At the time of Richard's resignation, the Cromwellian army, numbering about 20,000, was still in being. The army chiefs, however, did not know how to govern, and so were compelled to recall the survivors of the Long Parliament, the old Rump, which alone, in spite of all its defects, seemed to have the necessary experience for this most difficult art of governing. But the Rump, as was said of the Bourbons in France after the Revolution, came back, having learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Quarrels between it and the army soon arose. Finally, General George Monk, a strong, level-headed man, who retained his mental balance in every sort of crisis, saw that the nation wanted the old settled government of the monarchy.

He was commander of the Commonwealth soldiers in Scotland. With 7,000 men he set out on the march for England, and crossed the border on January 1, 1660. On February 3 he entered London, after an unimpeded march of 400 miles.

Meanwhile Charles II (he always dated his reign from his father's death in 1649) was watching the course of events from Breda, in the United Netherlands. His experienced counsellor, the historian, Edward Hyde (created Earl of Clarendon in 1661), was with him, and drafted a Declaration to the English people (April 4, 1660):

'Charles R.

'Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

'If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

'And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration of King, Peers and people to their just, ancient and fundamental rights, we do, by these Presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof,

shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted. . . .'[1]

The rest of the Declaration promised 'a liberty to tender consciences', and 'all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army'. Those two things, with the promise of a general amnesty, quieted the minds of the people, who on May 25, 1660, welcomed the landing of their King at Dover, with every demonstration of joy.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LAST TWO STUART KINGS

Charles II. The new King was only thirty years old at his accession in 1660. Like most of his family, he was a man of considerable ability, and with him England entered upon a period of settled government that has never since been seriously disturbed. Monk, the resolute quiet soldier, whom Samuel Pepys described as 'a dull heavy man', had been, as was said at the time, *victor sine sanguine*, victor without bloodshed.

Charles was not the man to disturb this bloodless restoration. His portrait, by Sir Peter Lely, shows him as a man with a clever face, though not so handsome as his father. His mouth was rather large, his nose was prominent. Personally he was rather likeable, being always good-humoured, and affable to all his subjects. He became a well-known figure in London, where he might often be seen taking exercise alone, striding along in St. James's Park, accompanied by his spaniels, and throwing crumbs to the ducks in the pond. The English, who were a very difficult people to rule at that time, grew to like him. Under his easy-going, genial exterior, he had great determination. A less good-humoured, less tactful,

[1] Declaration of Breda. Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

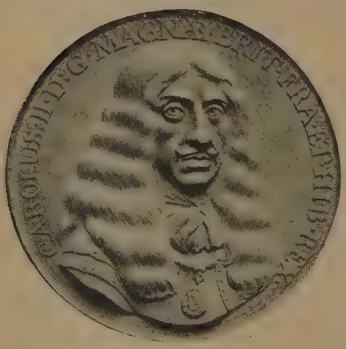
and at the same time, less strong-willed king, would probably have provoked another rebellion. As it was, it was left for Charles's brother James to do this, and, when it came, this second rebellion—the Revolution of 1688—was short and bloodless.

The Earl of Clarendon. Charles, though he kept his eye upon all affairs of State, yet would not apply himself to the details of business; this was entrusted to Edward Hyde. Hyde had been a minister of Charles I, and remained to the end of his life a moderate Constitutional Royalist. Charles II made him Lord Chancellor, and in this position Hyde, henceforward known as Earl of Clarendon, was for seven years the chief minister in legal, ecclesiastical, and State affairs. Under his wise guidance the Restoration Settlement was made almost without friction. Men who have eaten the bread of exile do not as a rule return with kindly feelings to the people that have outlawed them; and there were many Cavaliers who had sacrificed all in the cause of Charles I, and who expected compensation at the expense of their enemies. But an Act of Indemnity (as promised in the Declaration of Breda) was passed, pardoning all, except those who had signed Charles I's death-warrant; and most of these had either fled abroad, or had died before the Restoration. In all thirteen Regicides were executed.

'When the Cavaliers saw they had not that share in places they expected, they complained of it so highly that the Earl of Clarendon, to excuse the King passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was completed by the extent and comprehensiveness of the Act of Indemnity. . . . When the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a design to set aside the Act of Indemnity, the King did positively insist on his adhering to the Act. The Earl of Clarendon owned that it was his counsel. Acts or promises of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held sacred. He often said it was the making of those promises that brought the King home, and it was the keeping of them must keep him at home. The angry men that were thus

disappointed of all their hopes, made a jest of the title of it ; an Act of oblivion and of indemnity ; and said the King had passed an Act of oblivion for his friends and of indemnity for his enemies.' (Burnet, *History of His Own Time*.)

The growth of Nonconformity. It was Church and King, or rather Church and State (the King being head and part of both), that Clarendon stood for. And it was necessary, in his view, in order to have a strong and united people, that Church and State should be one. There was, if possible, to be no dissent. The Church of England was to be made wide enough to include all.



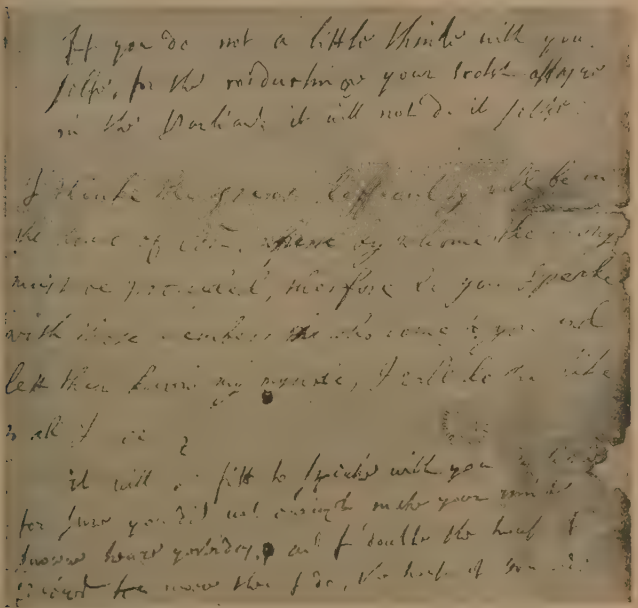
CHARLES II

In 1661, a conference of Church of England and Presbyterian divines was held at the Savoy Palace. It came to nothing, however, as the bishops insisted that definite rules were necessary for conducting public worship ; while the Presbyterians thought that no fixed rule should be adopted for things that are not matters of doctrine. In the question, for instance, whether people should kneel when receiving the Holy Communion, the Presbyterians desired some latitude and freedom of choice. This is a part of the ancient and still-living controversy between those who stand for order and uniformity, and those who, on the other hand, feel a certain repugnance to set forms and ritual.

In 1662, the Parliament, which in the enthusiasm of the Revolution had been elected on a strong ' Church and State basis ', passed an Act of Uniformity :

' Now in regard that nothing conduced more to the settling of the peace of this nation (which is desired of all good men)

nor to the honour of our religion, and the propagation thereof, than an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God; and to the intent that every person within this realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship and administrations of sacraments, and other



HANDWRITING OF CLARENDON AND CHARLES II, 1661[1]

[1] [*Clarendon State Papers*, III. xlix. 1661.]

[*Chan.*] If you do not a little thinke with yourselfe, for the conductinge your Scotsh affayre in the Parliam[t], it will not do it selfe:

[*King*] I thinke the great difficulty will be in the house of Com̃ [whence *struck out*] by whome the mony must be prouided, therfore do you speake with those members who come to you and lett them know my mynde, I will do the like to all I see.

[*Chan.*] it will be fitt to speake with you a little, for sure you did not enough make your minde knowne heare yesterday, and I doubte the house of Peeres more then I do, the house of Comons.

rites and ceremonies in the Church of England, and the manner how and by whom bishops, priests and deacons are and ought to be made, ordained, and consecrated ; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by the advice and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate or parish church or chapel or other place of public worship within this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed shall be bound to say and use the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, celebration and administration of both the sacraments, and all other the public and common prayers, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed and joined to this present act and intitulated, the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England ; together with the psalter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sang or said in churches ; and the form or manner of making, ordaining and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons : And that the morning and evening prayers therein contained shall, upon every Lord's day, and upon all other days and occasions, and at the times therein appointed, be openly and solemnly read by all and every minister or curate, in every church, chapel or other place of public worship, within this realm of England and places aforesaid.'

All clergy who would not conform to this Act were to be deprived of their benefices. The contemporary historian, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, says that about 2,000 clergy resigned their livings rather than conform to this Act. From this moment the Nonconformists, many of whom had up till then believed themselves still part of the Church of England, were forced into a sectarian attitude, and that unity, which might have been the glory of the English Church, was destroyed.

The Clarendon Code. The Act of Uniformity was followed by a series of Acts, which made it still more difficult for any one who would not conform exactly to the Book of Common Prayer to remain within the Church of England. These Acts, having been passed while Lord Clarendon was Chan-

cellor, have been called the ' Clarendon Code ', though Burnet says he had little sympathy with religious coercion. The *Corporation Act* (1661) had commanded that all mayors and magistrates of corporate towns should take the following oath :

' I, A. B., do declare and believe, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King ; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him : So help me God.'

The *Licensing Act* (1662) provided that no book should be printed except with the authority of the Government.

Thus every one was to promise never to resist the King's authority ; no books could be printed if the Government disliked the ideas expressed in them ; no religious meeting (except a Church of England meeting) of more than five persons could take place (*Conventicle Act*, 1664) ; finally, the *Five Mile Act* (1665) ordered that all men who preached at any religious meeting that was not strictly according to the Church of England should be excluded from every corporate town (that is, a town that sent members to Parliament) ; in fact, they were not to be allowed to come within five miles of such a town ' unless only in passing upon the road '.

England was put into shackles. Yet the people, as a whole not greatly concerned with religious differences, remained happily enough under the Restoration system, and thought themselves the freest people upon earth.

Intellectual freedom. In spite of religious intolerance, there was a high degree of intellectual freedom in England under Charles II. Among many philosophers, Thomas Hobbes was pre-eminent. He had been for a time mathematical tutor to the King (when Prince of Wales), and was the friend of all the great thinkers of the day, at home and abroad. His best-known work now is the *Leviathan* (first issued in 1651), a treatise on political science. In this work

Hobbes discourses with great wisdom on the origin of the State and on the nature of Law and Sovereignty. Although his theory of the 'Social Contract' is no longer held to be correct, his work is of great importance in the history of English political thought.

THE CONTINENTAL BEGGAR OF THE PERIOD

Vagrancy and the Poor Law. In the Tudor period an evil, which had not been absent from the Middle Ages, had become more prominent than ever. This evil was vagrancy—the existence of a moving class of idle people, who either would not work or who could not find employment.

The increase of vagrancy was largely due to the breaking-up of feudalism towards the end of the sixteenth century. The nobles were being curbed by the Crown, and had to give up most of their retainers. And even where the retainers were meant really as domestic servants, the rise in prices in the sixteenth century forced many noblemen to dismiss their surplus staff.

'These men [the retainers] as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. . . . Then in the mean season, they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves.'

(More's *Utopia*, published 1516.)

Further the change of land from agriculture to pasture threw many men out of their livelihood :

'By one means, therefore, or other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge,

WHIPPING VAGABONDS AT THE CART'S TAIL

I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. . . . And when they have wandered abroad, till that [their substance] be spent, what can they then els do but steal, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go about a begging ? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not : whom no man will set awork, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto.' (Ibid.)

Finally, while it was becoming more and more difficult for men to find a living on the land, the dissolution of the monasteries destroyed the most charitable of landlords, and so for a considerable time, at least, made things harder than ever for the vagrants.

Queen Elizabeth was the first seriously to tackle the evil. Earlier sovereigns had made laws against vagrancy, but Elizabeth and her advisers knew that mere prohibition and punishment were not enough. So in 1572 a statute was passed to establish *houses of correction* under the authority of justices of the peace; and in these houses all vagabonds were to be put to work. In 1598 the law was strengthened:

'Every person which is by this present Act declared to be a rogue, vagabond, or sturdy beggar, which shall be taken begging, vagrant, or misordering themselves, shall upon their apprehension be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped until his or her body be bloody, and shall be forthwith sent from parish to parish, the next straight way to the parish where he was born . . . there to put himself to labour as a true subject ought to do.'
(Statute 30 and 40 Elizabeth, Cap. IV.)

This Act, however, did little to mend matters; for while it did good by supplying some means of work for the vagrants, it did harm by insisting on their being sent back to their original parish. For by this the labourer, instead of being mobile, and able to go wherever employment was plentiful, was really settled and fixed to his parish; so that some parishes had many labourers and little work, while some had much work to be done but few labourers. And in spite of all the penalties of the law, vagrancy continued.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the disturbance caused to trade and industry by the Civil War for a time made vagrancy worse than ever, and in 1662 the Government of Charles II re-enacted, in a more stringent form, the 'settlement' policy of Elizabeth's statute: on the complaint of the churchwardens or overseers of the poor, the justices of the peace had power to remove any person from the parish where he had settled to his original home. This only made matters worse than ever. But fortunately, at the same time, trade and industry were growing; and in spite of the Settlement Acts, the economic prosperity of the country steadily

revived, until in the eighteenth century the surplus of unemployed people nearly disappeared.

The Dutch Wars. Under Charles II England prospered. The furs, the sugar, the tobacco, the coffee of the New World were freely carried across the sea to England, and life assumed a more cheerful aspect. Great gains were made in commerce; the East India Company, which had been established (1600) towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, at last began to earn good profits. But when our traders began to push their way to more distant parts, they found the Dutch already established. This hardy, frugal people had won their independence from Spain by the year 1609, and from that time their slow, well-filled ships sailed every sea. It was natural to all Dutchmen to save money, so that, although their country was not rich by nature, there was always capital to be found for commercial enterprise. Thus they were able to send ships and traders to the East and to the West, and well-stocked warehouses arose among the swamps and forests of almost unknown rivers, the Hooghly, the Hudson, the Orinoco.

These were the days when commerce was not free; when no nation welcomed the trade of another, or believed that the exchange of goods and services enriched both sides and increased the enjoyment of the world. The Long Parliament had decided that the Dutch should not carry goods to English ports; and so, chiefly for naval reasons, to encourage English shipping, they passed the Navigation Act of 1651. The Act provided that goods should only be brought to England in English ships or the ships of the country which had produced the goods. The Dutch protested against this discrimination being made against their carrying trade, and war ensued, which was terminated, on the whole, in favour of England in 1654. After the Restoration the Navigation Act (1660) was passed again, with the addition that the Colonies must import goods from England only, and that their chief products must be exported only to England or to other English Colonies.

Once more, as in the time of the Protectorate, war broke

out between the Dutch and English. It was a war for the mastery of the seas, for if the Dutch could not trade with England or the English colonies, they would be cut off from half the New World, and their shipping would decay. On both sides it was a heroic war, for each nation fought as it were upon its natural element, and showed its finest qualities. Soldiers took to the sea, Rupert and Monk on the English side, Opdam, a colonel of cavalry, on the Dutch. The great de Ruyter, however, had always been a sailor, and under him the Dutch seamanship was, on the whole, superior to the English. Each side boldly sought out the other, to meet it in decisive battle. On June 3, 1665, the English fleet under the Duke of York met the Dutch off Lowestoft and gained a great victory; Monk (Duke of Albemarle by this time) met Pepys, who was an Admiralty official, in the Cockpit theatre, and told him the news. The enthusiastic official put it all down in his diary :

COSTUME OF A PURITAN LADY

'June 3, 1665. This day they engaged : the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us ; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's ship, the Royall Charles, with one shot : their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face ; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earl of Marlborough, Portland, Rear Admirall Sansum, to Prince Rupert killed, and Captain Kirby and Ableson. Sir John Lawson wounded on the knee and hath had some bones taken out, and

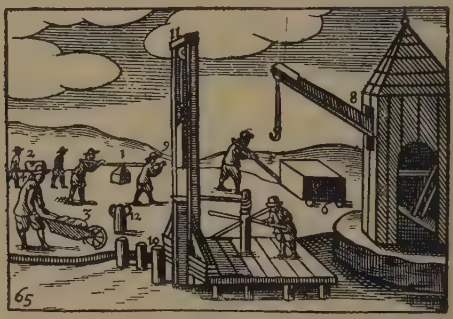
is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt he sent to the Duke for another to command the Royall Oake. The Duke sent Jordan out of the St. George, who did brave things in her. Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the Mary, was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton of the Urania, 76 guns and 400 men, who had sworn to board the Duke; killed him 200 men and took the ship; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved with his leg cut off. Admirall Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes;

THOMAS HOBBES, 1588–1679
Founder of Modern Philosophy in England

all the rest of their admiralls, as they say, but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed: we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships; killed and taken near 8 or 10,000 men, and lost we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled; some 43 got into the Texell, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest. Thence with my heart full of joy, home: then to my Lady Pen's, where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate; and I, with my Lady Pen's people and others,

to Mrs. Turner's great room, and there down into the street. I did give the boys 4*s.* among them and mighty merry: so home to bed, with my heart at great rest and quiet, saving that the consideration of the victory is too great for me presently to comprehend.'

The Duke of York, brother of Charles II, afterwards King James II, was Lord High Admiral at this time. He was a careful administrator, diligent in his duties, both in the Admiralty offices in Whitehall and on the sea. Sir William Coventry, a Commissioner of the Navy, one day at a meeting



VARIOUS ENGINES IN 1672. For description see List of Illustrations

of the 'Committee of Tangier', described the Duke's conduct to Pepys, and Pepys, of course, wrote it in his diary:

'He tells me, above all, of the Duke of York, that he is more himself and more of judgment is at hand in him, in the middle of a desperate service than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirke, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him; "For," says he, "the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them": and

though he is a man naturally martiall to the hottest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his own, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxime that a Hector can have no courage.'

The year previous to the battle of Lowestoft, the English Government, according to what has always been its practice during a European War, sent an expedition against the enemy's colonies ; New Amsterdam, the old Dutch settlement on the Hudson River was occupied and re-named New York.

VARIOUS METHODS OF TRANSPORT, 1672

The condition of the Navy. All did not go so well, however, throughout the whole war. The Navy was brave and enthusiastic, although a large proportion of the officers were landsmen, appointed by Court influence. Pepys deplored the appointment of those unprofessional captains :

'At noon, walked in the garden with Commissioner Pitt, newly come to town, who tells me how infinite the disorders are among the commanders and all officers of the fleete. No discipline : nothing but swearing and cursing, and everybody doing what they please ; and the Generals, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragge and Captain Seamons. He tells me that Captains carry, for all the late

orders, what men they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in : he observing to me, too, that there is no man of council or advice in the fleete ; and, the truth is, that the gentlemen-captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses, are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.'

On shore, in the dockyards, things were not much better managed. Parliament voted money for the Fleet, but much of this money was never spent on ships. Some of it Charles spent on his favourites ; some was embezzled by the dockyard officials. Pepys, as a most industrious and inquisitive official, knew of this corruption, but could not stop it :

'22nd. To Deptford. Coming too soon, I spent an hour in looking round the yard, and putting Mr. Shish [Master Shipwright at Deptford] to measure a piece or two of timber, which he did most cruelly wrong, and to the King's loss, 12 or 13*s*. in a piece of 28 feet in contents' [July 1664].

Dockyard officials made money off the timber and stores. Captains made money by drawing pay for seamen who, long since dead, were still borne upon the books of the ship :

'At the Dog Tavern, Captain Philip Holland, with whom I advised how to make some advantage of my Lord's going to sea, told me to have five or six servants entered on board as dead men, and I to give them what wages I pleased, and so their pay to be mine.'

Thus the safety of England was jeopardized. And meanwhile, the sailors who fought so heroically lacked their pay, and their women and children were often in the greatest misery. Pepys was nearly mobbed by them once :

'10th. To the office ; the yard being very full of women, I believe above three hundred, coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland ; and they lay clamouring, and swearing, and cursing us, that my wife and I were afraid to send a venison-pasty that we have for supper tonight to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it : but it went, and no hurt done. To

the Tower, to speak with Sir John Robinson about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes' [July 1666].

After the Dutch Wars it was a common sight to see wounded sailors having to beg their bread in the streets of London.

The Dutch in the Medway. If all the money which the nation voted for the Fleet had been honestly spent upon ships, the Navy could have been properly maintained. As things stood, however, supplies ran short. In 1667 the Government decided to pay off many of the sailors, and to lay up their ships. The great Admiral de Ruyter saw his chance. Suddenly appearing off the Thames estuary, he sailed his fleet up to the Medway. The Government was caught unprepared. Orders were given to sink ships in Barking Creek, to stop the Dutch from coming up higher. Pepys hastily sent his father and wife into the country, with all his loose cash, '£1,300 in gold, in their night-bag' (June 13). A few hours later, having gone to the Admiralty at Whitehall, he sent a Government messenger after Mrs. Pepys with another 1,000 pieces, 'under colour of an express to Sir Jeremy Smith', who was commander at Newcastle. 'The charge of an express', adds Pepys, 'is not considerable to the king.' The news got worse: 'Late at night comes Mr. Hudson, the cooper, my neighbour, and tells me that he came from Chatham this evening at 5 o'clock, and saw this afternoon *The Royal James*, *Oake*, and *London* burnt by the enemy with their fire-ships.' The booming of the Dutch guns was heard in London. The capital was blockaded, and the coal ships from Newcastle could not arrive. The wives of the discharged sailors went about saying, 'This comes of your not paying our husbands,' and a special guard had to be kept at the doors of the Admiralty to prevent them forcing their way in.

London did not fall, but the blockade of the Thames was maintained by the Dutch until Commissioners were sent over to Holland, to accelerate the negotiations which were going on. The Peace of Breda (July 31, 1667) was the result. England retained New York, and kept the Navigation Act in force, but

handed back the rich spice-bearing island of Pularoon in the East Indies. The Dutch would not have given such good terms had Louis XIV of France not been at the same time attacking them by land. Charles was acting in league with

MODEL OF A DUTCH WARSHIP

Louis, but the English Parliament was too sensible to stand by and see France overrun both the Spanish Netherlands and Holland. Accordingly, in January 1668, they actually insisted on offering an alliance to the Dutch. This was the famous Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, which occasioned the withdrawal of Louis from the territory he

had conquered in the Low Countries. The sacrifices which the Dutch had undergone were thus at last rewarded.

The Second Dutch War. King Charles, however seemed bent on destroying the Dutch, and on June 1, 1670, the Secret Treaty of Dover was signed with France. Charles's ministers at this time were the notorious 'Cabal'—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. The austere Clarendon had been impeached in 1667, and had to fly to France, where he employed his enforced leisure in completing his great *History of the Rebellion.*

The Secret Treaty stipulated that Charles should engage England in war with the Dutch, while Louis attacked them by land. In order that he should be fairly independent of Parliament, Charles was to receive £300,000 from Louis. An additional article, which was only communicated to Clifford and Arlington, arranged that Charles should get an extra £200,000 on condition of his declaring himself publicly to be a Roman Catholic.

THE ROYAL PRINCE
Captured by the Dutch in the year 1666

In March 1672, Charles, though not declaring himself a Roman Catholic, performed part of his bargain with Louis by issuing an illegal 'Declaration of Indulgence', exempting all Nonconformists (including Roman Catholics), from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, Corporation Act, and so forth. He then made war upon the Dutch, and managed to get Parliament to vote supplies for it; and on June 7, 1672, an Anglo-French fleet under the Duke of York fought

a great battle with the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Ruyter, off Southwold (or Sole) Bay. The action was broken off at night, and fog prevented it being renewed next day.

As a concession to the feeling of Parliament, Charles withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence, and assented to the Test Act (1673). According to this Act no one could hold any position, civil or military, under the King, without receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. The Duke of York at once gave up his position as Lord High Admiral, and every one realized that the heir to the throne (for Charles had no legitimate children) was a Roman Catholic.

The Dutch, although assailed by land with all the armies of France, cut the dikes and flooded their country, and at the same time carried on a not unsuccessful naval war against England. Gradually the public came to realize that France, not Holland, was the danger to England, and that the victory of Louis would mean the restoration of the Pope's authority in the country. In February 1674, Parliament insisted on peace being made with the Dutch, who thus freed from their maritime enemy were able, in alliance with Austria, to deal with the French armies.

Henceforward there was to be no more war for over a hundred years with Holland. The Navigation Act was maintained, and under its protection English shipping increased. On the other hand, owing to the absence of foreign competition, the cost of shipbuilding and of freights was kept high. The expensive wars which the Dutch had fought left them heavily burdened with debt, which, notwithstanding the saving habits of the people, proved a great handicap to their industry.

The Plague and the Great Fire. In August and September 1665, the Plague had visited England, and London especially suffered from this fearful scourge. The streets were narrow and the houses close together. In their little back-gardens, the citizens had their wells of water, which had got contaminated. All who could went out of the town. Charles

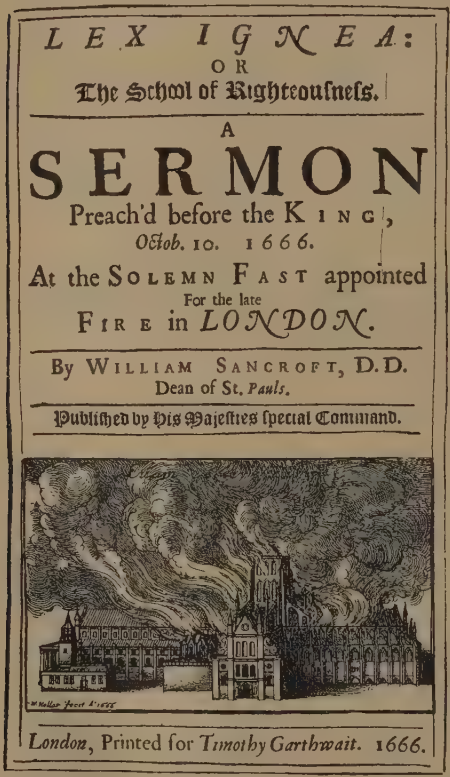
went to Salisbury, and afterwards to Oxford, though he was not afraid to come up to the city to see how things were going on. In one parish alone, Pepys says, as many as 40 died in one night. The Admiralty removed to Greenwich, for the Dutch War was still going on, and business must be attended to. Physicians themselves caught the disease and died. Gradually, however, the plague worked itself to extinction; and finally the marks of it were obliterated by the Great Fire, which occurred in September 1666. Large parts of London were destroyed, along with the splendid cathedral, Old St. Paul's. The fire began on September 2 (Sunday) and

GRAVES OF PLAGUE VICTIMS AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE

burned till the 6th. Pepys witnessed the state of affairs and describes it in his diary:

'So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it began this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding Lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that, in a very little time, it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Every body endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, and bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats or clambering from one pair of stairs, by the water-side, to another. And, among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every

way; and nobody to my sight endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods and leave all to the fire; and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City; and everything after so long a drought; proving combustible, even the very stones of churches; and among other things the poor steeple, by which pretty Mrs. —— lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down; and to White Hall with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower to see the fire, in my boat; and then up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw; and that, unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare


LEX IGNEA:
OR
The School of Righteousness.
A
SERMON
Preach'd before the KING,
Octob. 10. 1666.
At the SOLEMN FAST appointed
For the late
FIRE in LONDON.
By WILLIAM SANCROFT, D.D.
Dean of St. Pauls.
Published by His Majesties Special Command.
London, Printed for Timothy Garthwait. 1666.

no houses but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers, he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach which he lent me, and hied with me to Paul's; and then walked along Watling St., as well as I could, every

A typical London Court of the time. Green Arbor Court, off Fleet Street, pulled down about 1829

creature coming away laden with goods to save, and here and there, sick people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried like a fainting woman, "Lord, what can I do? I am spent: people will

not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it."

The fire ruined many people, and caused great distress among the poor. It is a proof, however, of the real prosperity of the country at this time that the city was rebuilt again so quickly, and in such a substantial way. It was the Great Fire which gave Sir Christopher Wren the opportunity of building the new St. Paul's Cathedral and other splendid City churches which still remain to attest his genius.

Shaftesbury. That part of the Secret Treaty of Dover (p. 385) which engaged Charles to declare himself a Roman Catholic had not been communicated to all five members of the Cabal ministry. The ambitious and daring Ashley—Anthony Ashley Cooper, later made Earl of Shaftesbury—on discovering that he had not been shown the whole treaty, at once raised an opposition party in Parliament to oppose the Court. He is considered as being, to a certain extent, the originator of the system of party politics in England. History, rightly or wrongly, has taken its view of Lord Shaftesbury from Dryden's mordant satire:

> Of these the false Achitophel [Shaftesbury] was first;
> A name to all succeeding ages curst:
> For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
> Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit,
> Restless, unfixed in principles and place;
> In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace . . .
> A daring pilot in extremity;
> Pleased with the danger when the waves went high,
> He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,
> Would steer too nigh the sands, to boast his wit.[1]

The Popish Plot. It was the object of Shaftesbury and his 'Country Party', as he called it, to defeat the design, which clearly Charles II held in view, of restoring Roman Catholicism in England. For this it seemed necessary, not merely to take measures with Charles himself, but with the heir presumptive, James, Duke of York, an avowed Catholic. Religious feeling

[1] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part I.

ran very high in the country. The wildest stories were believed. It was said that Catholics had made the Great Fire of London. In 1678, Titus Oates, a clergyman of the Church of England, but a man of bad character, came forward with a story of a 'Popish Plot', a 'hideous romance', as Macaulay calls it, 'resembling rather the dream of a sick man than any transaction which ever took place in the real world'. England was to be given up to the Jesuits, the statesmen and chief clergy murdered, the King poisoned. The story was believed for a time, and 'the gaols were filled with Papists'. Shaftesbury took advantage of the excitement to introduce the Exclusion Bill.

The Exclusion Bill. In January 1679, Charles II had dissolved his 'Long Parliament', which had existed for seventeen years. The General Election that followed returned members to Parliament ready to take measures against the Catholics. Shaftesbury proposed a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne, and to put in his place the Duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's illegitimate sons. Monmouth was a popular man and a good soldier. The Exclusion Bill passed the House of Commons in 1680, but was rejected in the Lords. The King dissolved Parliament, a General Election was held, and Charles's third and last Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford. Shaftesbury's 'Country Party', who were then beginning to be called Whigs, came up determined to limit the power of the Crown. The 'Court Party', beginning to be called Tories, were in great numbers too, ready to uphold the sacred rights of the King. Once more the Exclusion Bill was read in the Commons, but Charles appeared in Christ Church Hall, where the

Lords were sitting, and dissolved the Parliament (March 1681).

The King had played his game with all his great ability. He had watched the violent conduct of the Whigs, he had seen a Tory reaction gradually preparing in the country. When the time was ripe, when the Commons were seen to be losing sympathy, Charles dissolved Parliament, and for the rest of his reign ruled alone. The succession of the Duke of York was saved. Shaftesbury meditated revolution, but he was watched. He anticipated arrest by flight to Holland, where he died in 1683.

PASTIMES. Sport and games in the time of Charles II

Death of Charles II. At the age of fifty-five the constitution of Charles showed signs of breaking. Unlike his grave and austere father, Charles was a genial, merry man, and therefore popular with the people. He was careful of his health, taking regular exercise, either by playing tennis in a great covered court, or, in his later years, by walking. He was, on the other hand, sensual and self-indulgent, and his Court was a scandal

throughout Europe. On the evening of February 1 his Court in the great gallery of Whitehall showed no change. The King was talking with ladies ' whose charms ' (says Macaulay) ' were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of three nations '. At the tables, gay, reckless nobles sat in front of piles of gold, playing their games of dice and cards. Charles complained of feeling unwell. That night he had a slight paralytic seizure. He died five days later, February 6, 1685. His wife, Catharine of Braganza, whom he had married in 1662, survived for twenty years, and died in Portugal in 1705.

JAMES II MARY OF MODENA

Among the many things in which King Charles took an interest was the Army. On coming to the throne he had retained about 5,000 of the Commonwealth soldiers, and the British regimental system dates from his time. His regiments were the 1st and 2nd Life Guards, recruited from Cavaliers: the Royal Horse Guards, recruited from Roundheads; the Grenadier Guards (Cavaliers), the Coldstream Guards (Roundheads); the Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment, recruited for Tangier, and the 1st Dragoons (the Tangier Horse). All these troops were well equipped and well paid. The Guards received five shillings a day, but no quarters were provided. They lived in the inns and lodging-houses around Whitehall.

James II. Charles was quietly succeeded on the throne by his brother James, who was not the least competent of his

family. A good administrator, he had shown conscientiousness in his position as Lord High Admiral; and as king he never shunned the labour of the council-table. In all matters of detail, in dealing with the Army or Navy, he was sober, judicious, wise. The diarist, John Evelyn, testifies to his 'infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, great understanding and experience of affairs'.

On the other hand, there was a strain of callousness and cruelty in his character. As Administrator of Scotland (where he succeeded his nephew Monmouth, the victor over the 'Covenanters' at Bothwell Bridge in 1679) he had shown himself very terrible to Presbyterian dissenters. As king, he allowed Dame Alice Lisle, who had given shelter to a rebel, to be beheaded for treason.

DRUM USED BY THE VOLUNTEERS OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE IN THEIR MARCH AGAINST MONMOUTH IN 1685

In his political views he was autocratic; and in the three years of his reign two distinct designs can be traced: one to rule as an absolute monarch, the other to re-establish the Roman Catholic Church in England. Yet he might have seen that it was impossible for any king to be an absolute monarch in England after the Great Rebellion. And when, in addition to trying to be absolute, he also began to destroy the Protestant Settlement, he roused against his throne even the Tories, who indeed believed in monarchical authority, but whose consciences could not accept the Pope. The Revolution of 1688 was, therefore, the result of a combination of the Whig and Tory parties, each roused for different reasons against the King's policy.

Monmouth's Rebellion. The reign of James was short, and, apart from the Revolution which concluded it, contains little to mark it in the development of the English nation. He had been on the throne only four months, when the Duke of Monmouth started a rebellion in the south-west of England. Monmouth had been in Holland, collecting a small force of refugee dissenters. On June 11 his small squadron appeared off Lyme Regis in Dorset. The Duke landed, was well received by the townspeople, and then marched into Somersetshire. As it went, his force grew till it numbered about 5,000 men. At Taunton he declared himself king, but before he had proceeded much farther he was met by the royal troops on Sedgemoor on July 6, 1685. His force of country people was scattered. Monmouth himself was captured a few days later, and suffered execution for high treason.

SAPPER'S HELMET OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Bloody Assizes. The people as a whole had shown no disposition to support the rebellion; the bulk of the country was loyal. The members of the University of Oxford raised a volunteer regiment, to support the King. If James had used his easy victory with mercy, he might have become a popular and respected monarch. Instead, however, he sent the Chief Justice Jeffreys on a judicial tour of the scene of the rebellion. Jeffreys was known as the most brutal and foul-mouthed lawyer who had ever disgraced an English court. As a result of the courts, 'the Bloody Assizes', which he held at Winchester, Dorchester, Exeter, and elsewhere, 324 people were executed, and 841 sentenced to be sent as slaves to the West Indies. Jeffreys brutally boasted that he

had in this one judicial circuit of the south-western counties hung more traitors than all the judges had done since the Norman Conquest. Those who were deported as slaves were bought by the West Indian planters. The purchase-money went to courtiers, who had received grants of the slaves from the King. After all expenses had been paid, it was calculated that each deported prisoner was worth £10 to £15 each. James's queen, Mary of Modena, had got 100 of the convicted rebels granted to her, and is believed to have made £1,000 in disposing of them.

James's power. James II was now at the height of his power. He had successfully quelled a rebellion. He had secured an income of £1,900,000 from Parliament—a sum greater by £700,000 than Charles II himself had. He had a standing army of about 20,000 men, consisting of six regiments of Dragoons, and nine of Infantry of the Line. His strength seems to have tempted him to go farther, and, being a Catholic himself, to give the Catholics the chief places in the kingdom. The result of this fatal effort was not merely to drive him from the throne, but to penalize the Roman Catholics in England for 140 years.

The unfolding of James's design. To re-establish Catholicism in England, it was necessary to undo the existing laws. So James began to tamper with the judges. He gave a commission in the Army to a Catholic, against the provisions of the Test Act (p. 386). He then arranged that the officer (Colonel Hales) should be prosecuted under the Act (1686). The result was that the judges, under James's influence, decided that the King could except any subject from the restrictions of the Test Act. Having obtained this favourable decision, James proceeded to give commissions in the Army to Catholics.

Having thus, as he thought, secured the Army for the furtherance of his design, James next proceeded to attack the Universities. The head of University College, Oxford, Obadiah Walker, a clergyman of the Church of England, openly avowed himself to be a Roman Catholic. James issued a document,

through the Solicitor-General's office, authorizing Walker to retain his high position. The University, hitherto so loyal in its attachment to the Crown, was horrified. The undergraduate members, more outspoken in their manners, took to calling in the quadrangles :

Old Obadiah
Sings Ave Maria.

Christ Church, Oxford, is not merely a college ; its chapel is the Cathedral. The Head of the college (who is appointed by the Crown) is also Dean of the Cathedral. In 1686 the headship fell vacant. James, by virtue of his 'dispensing power', appointed John Massey, who was known to be a Roman Catholic. To the Archbishopric of York, which became vacant also, James wished to appoint his confessor, the Jesuit Father Petre. Pope Innocent XI, however, who saw the folly of James's reckless procedure, would not give Father Petre a dispensation (which Jesuits require) to become a bishop. The Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, refused to take action against a clergyman who had preached against the spread of Roman Catholicism. King James had the bishop suspended from officiating in the diocese.

The camp at Hounslow. On Hounslow Heath a camp was formed for James's army ; 14 battalions of infantry, 32 squadrons of horse, in all 13,000 trained men, with 26 pieces of artillery, were assembled to overawe the Londoners. The good-humoured soldiers, however, inspired no terror in the citizens ; and soon the camp became quite a popular resort. On Sunday afternoons the citizens might be seen walking with their family through the lines, pointing out to their children the tall handsomely-dressed guardsmen, or the black-coated priests and monks.

The last acts. In 1687 a series of acts took place, so arbitrary and unjust that even the most staunch of Tories felt that James must go. It was not as if he was taking a stand on any lofty ground of tolerance. His intolerance was

fanatic. Any Protestant who disagreed openly with the King's views was at once put outside the law.

The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, a House noted for its loyalty to the Stuarts, had to elect a new Head. To do so was, by law and custom, their own affair, subject to no external interference. James sent a Royal Letter ordering the election of Anthony Farmer, a papist. The Fellows refused, pleading that such an election was contrary to the statutes of the College, and against the oath which they had all taken on becoming Fellows. Force was then resorted to by the King : 'the new President was turned out. And because he would not deliver the keys of his house, the doors were broken open.' The Fellows 'still pleaded their oath : and were all turned out, except two that submitted' (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*). This vile attack upon religion, learning, and teaching in England brought a speedy judgement upon the King. The spell which Oxford has cast over the whole of England could not be rudely broken ; the clergy and gentry resented the treatment of the University with which they had so many associations, while the people as a whole resented the contempt shown for their ancient seat of learning.

In April 1687, James, without any reference to Parliament, had issued a 'Declaration of Indulgence', relieving all who did not conform to the Church of England from the penalties of the law. In April 1688, a second Declaration of Indulgence was issued, and ordered to be read in all the churches. Seven bishops, headed by Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, drew up a petition to the King, asking that the clergy might be excused from reading the Declaration (which was quite illegal) in public. James, whose tyranny now looked like madness, actually had the bishops tried in Westminster Hall, on the plea that their petition was seditious and inciting to rebellion :

'The solicitor for the bishops sate up all night with a body of servants on the stairs leading to the room where the jury was consulting. It was absolutely necessary to watch the

officers who watched the doors; for those officers were supposed to be in the interest of the crown, and might, if not carefully observed, have furnished a courtly juryman with food which would have enabled him to starve out the other eleven. Strict guard was therefore kept. Not even a candle to light a pipe was permitted to enter. Some basons of water for washing were suffered to pass at about four in the morning. The jurymen raging with thirst soon lapped up the whole. Great numbers of people walked the neighbouring streets till dawn. Every hour a messenger came from Whitehall to know what was passing. Voices, high in altercation, were repeatedly heard within the room: but nothing certain was known.

At first nine were for acquitting and three for convicting. Two of the minority soon gave way: but Arnold was obstinate. . . . It was six in the morning before Arnold yielded. . . . At ten the court again met. The crowd was greater than ever. The jury appeared in their box; and there was a breathless stillness.

Sir Samuel Astry spoke. "Do you find the defendants or any of them, guilty of the misdemeanor whereof they are impeached, or not guilty?" Sir Roger Langley answered, "Not guilty." As the words passed his lips Halifax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and in another moment the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar.'[1]

The birth of the Prince. James's first wife, Anne Hyde (daughter of the Earl of Clarendon), had died in 1671, leaving two daughters, Mary, who married William III of Orange (1677), and Anne, who married George, Prince of Denmark (1683). James's second wife was Mary of Modena, whom he married in 1673. He had five children by her who died in infancy. James had thus no son, and both his daughters were Protestant. The whole country undoubtedly detested his rule, but were willing to wait till he died, when Mary, the elder daughter, would succeed him. On June 10, 1688, however, the nation was startled to know that a son had been

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, ii. 385.

born to King James and his queen. There was now no longer any chance of a peaceful Protestant succession. When William of Orange heard of the event, he exclaimed, 'Aut nunc aut nunquam'—now or never; he must act, or for ever be excluded from England.

The invitation from England. At the same time, seven English gentlemen took upon themselves the responsibility of sending an invitation to William of Orange and his wife Mary. These seven were: Admiral Edward Russell, Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, Baron Lumley, and Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. The invitation was expressed in the most cautious terms, but it was sufficient for William.

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN
1632–1723

'The people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded) and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured, there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who we believe would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves; it is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them before hand, and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable

of them would venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them. . . .'[1]

Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor, carried the letter over to Holland, and gave it to him. On November 2, 1688, William, with a small Dutch fleet, set sail from Helvet-

THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD
Designed by Sir Christopher Wren, completed 1668 and at first used as the printing house of the CLARENDON PRESS

sluys, at the mouth of the Maas. On November 5 he landed at Torbay. Gilbert Burnet came with him from Holland, and describes the whole journey. William marched to Exeter, and from there to Crewkerne. At Crewkerne, Dr. Finch, the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, came on a deputation to say that the University would support the Prince of Orange. More important at the moment was the support of the soldiers, who were coming over to William's side. James had marched

[1] Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii.

with his troops to Salisbury, but there most of his army melted away. Among others, his chief officer, Lieutenant-General Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough) went over to the Prince of Orange. The Prince proceeded to Salisbury, and from there to London, where he arrived on December 19. King James had been captured a few days previously, but William had no desire to keep him. He was allowed on December 23 to escape to France, where he spent the rest of his life. A Parliament called the Convention (because it was not summoned by a king) met on January 22, 1689. The House of Lords voted that :

'King James II having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government and that the throne is thereby vacant.' [1]

On February 13 William and his wife Mary were declared sovereigns.

Growth of the Empire. Before leaving the Stuart period, it is necessary to pay a tribute to the unfailing interest of the Kings in colonial affairs. All the English colonies of the seventeenth century were founded and became flourishing through private enterprise, but for the greater number (though not for all) the patronage of the Crown was of great account. In 1607, as already noticed (p. 310), Virginia was founded by Royal Charter. In 1620 the colony of Massachusetts began (see p. 310) ; but here the Crown could claim none of the credit. In 1633 Charles I gave a grant of land in the southern half of North America to Lord Baltimore ; this colony became known as Maryland. Next year, 1634, Connecticut was founded by some of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and two years later the colony of Rhode Island was started, in the same manner ; and in 1641 came the foundation of New Hampshire (from Massachusetts).

[1] Hallam, iii. 94.

The contribution of the Commonwealth to the British Colonial Empire was Jamaica, in 1655 (see p. 362). Carolina was founded by charter from Charles II in 1663 (it was not divided into two colonies—North and South Carolina—till sixty-six years later). The First Dutch War brought three more American colonies under the English flag—Delaware, New York, and New Jersey, all in the year 1664. In 1670 Prince Rupert founded the Hudson's Bay Company, which ruled a large province in Canada. Finally in 1682 the Quaker, William Penn, son of the Admiral, obtained a grant of land in North America from Charles II, and went out there himself and founded Pennsylvania. Thus all the North American colonies, except Georgia (1732), were established under the Stuarts.

CHAPTER XX

WILLIAM AND MARY; QUEEN ANNE

Foreign policy after 1688. The statesman Disraeli, in his interesting novel *Sybil*, says that the Revolution of 1688 gave England 'French wars and Dutch finance'—that is to say, it began a long period of war against France, which left England, it is true, a powerful widely-spread empire, but with a national debt so large as to hamper the industry of the nation.

Disraeli's statement is true. Charles II and James II had been under the influence of France. Had the foreign policy of the last two Stuart kings been continued, the French power would have been extended over Belgium and Holland, and England would have lost command of the seas, and with it the means of her existence. William of Orange, who held the position of Stadtholder (chief magistrate of the United Netherlands), was determined to save Holland from France, and he employed the whole power of England in the struggle. Gradually the greater number of Englishmen also adopted the King's view. They came to believe that the free existence

of England depended upon keeping France out of the great ports of Antwerp and Rotterdam. Therefore the reigns of William III and Anne in foreign policy are the story of a struggle to defeat the designs of Louis XIV against the Dutch.

Constitutional progress. Internally, the history of the country is a chronicle of solid progress in every direction. The Reformation Settlement, which was begun by Henry VIII, completed by Elizabeth, and shaken by James II, was finally confirmed by the Revolution. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, declared that the sovereign must be a member of the Church of England. The Coronation Oath Act (1689) reinforced this, by providing that the King must swear to be faithful to the 'Protestant Reformed Religion established by law'. The Act of Settlement, 1701, contained the same condition; the Act of 1910 changed the form of the declaration into one less offensive to the Roman Catholic citizens of the Empire, but reaffirmed the King's position as a 'faithful Protestant'.

WILLIAM AND MARY

Proper measures were taken to ensure the discipline of the Army. Under Charles II and James II there were no military courts for soldiers, and all disciplinary offences had to come before the civil magistrates. As this process involved too much time and labour, the soldiers were in William's reign placed under special military discipline, enforced through military courts; this was done by the Mutiny Act (1689), which was thereafter passed annually through Parliament. It is now merged in the annual Army Act.

William of Orange had been invited to become King of England to save the country from absolute government, both

in Church and State. It was, therefore, natural that a certain increase of freedom should be the result. In particular, absolute government by the King was prevented by the ministers and Parliament being guaranteed a greater share in the government of the country than had been allowed under the Stuart system. In 1694 a Triennial Act was passed

CIVIL COSTUME OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

limiting the duration of any one Parliament to three years, at the end of which time a General Election must be held. Thus there was no longer the possibility of a king's keeping the same Parliament in being for seventeen years, as Charles II did. In 1716 the possible duration of each Parliament was extended to a period of seven years (Septennial Act), and in 1911 it was again reduced to five years (Parliament Act). But in the Great War a British Parliament, which was due to dissolve in 1915, was continued in existence by special Acts till the end of the year 1918. The Triennial Act of 1694 did not merely ensure that no Parliament should last longer than

three years; it stipulated, too (as did the Triennial Act of 1641), that a Parliament should be held at least once in three years. Owing to the growth of national expenditure, and the necessity of getting annual grants of money to meet this, there has been no difficulty in securing that Parliament should meet every three years. It has met every year.

The principle of constitutional government is that those who are qualified to vote elect the members of Parliament, and that the ministers of the King are chosen out of these members. Thus a certain correspondence is maintained between Crown, Ministry, Parliament, and the electors. As a rule, since 1688 at least, the bulk of the members of Parliament have taken sides, and arranged themselves in two parties, called Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative. This system is admirable for an assembly which exists for the thorough discussion of public affairs. But it would not do for a Ministry, or a 'Cabinet', as the Ministry has come to be called. If the Cabinet, like the Parliament, consisted of two parties, one party would always check the other, and united action would be impossible. It is therefore necessary that the Cabinet should consist of ministers who are members of the same party. In this way the ministers of the day can quickly agree what to do; and if they command a majority in Parliament, they can get their measures agreed to there.

If they have not a majority in Parliament, they must 'go to the country'—that is to say, the Parliament of the day must be dissolved, and a general election held, to see what the country really wants. Thus the correspondence between Ministry, Parliament, and country, is maintained.

This system, known as 'Cabinet Government', was beginning under William III; it grew further under Queen Anne, and became definitely established under George I. William, indeed, began by choosing his ministers from both Whig and Tory parties, hoping thus to secure support from every side. He found, however, that such a Ministry did not work harmoniously. So in 1694, acting on the advice of the sagacious

Earl of Sunderland, he appointed a Ministry who were all Whigs, at a time when the Whigs had a majority in Parliament. Cabinet government had begun.

Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland and Ireland the Revolution Settlement was seriously resisted. John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised a body of Highlanders to support the cause of James, but he was killed in battle with William's soldiers at the Pass of Killiecrankie in Perthshire (July 1689). At the same time the Irish had refused to join in the English Revolution; James II went over from France to Ireland to put himself at the head of the Catholic Irish. In the north the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen were held by Protestant Irish, and after a long siege were relieved by William's forces. The relief of Londonderry (July 30, 1689) is described by Lord Macaulay in a classic passage:

'It was the 30th of July. The sun had just set: the evening sermon in the Cathedral was over; and the heartbroken congregation had separated, when the sentinels on the tower saw the sails of three vessels coming up the Foyle. Soon there was a stir in the Irish camp. The besiegers were on the alert for miles along both shores. The ships were in extreme peril: for the river was low; and the only navigable channel ran very near to the left bank, where the head quarters of the enemy had been fixed and where the batteries were most numerous. Leake performed his duty with a skill and spirit worthy of his noble profession, exposed his frigate to cover the merchantmen, and used his guns with great effect. At length the little squadron came to the place of peril. Then the *Mountjoy* took the lead and went right at the boom. The huge barricade cracked and gave way: but the shock was such that the *Mountjoy* rebounded, and stuck in the mud. A yell of triumph rose from the banks: the Irish rushed to their boats and were preparing to board; but the *Dartmouth* poured on them a well directed broadside, which threw them into disorder. Just then the *Phœnix* dashed at the breach which the *Mountjoy* had made and was in a moment within the fence. Meantime the tide was rising fast. The *Mountjoy* began to move, and soon passed through the broken stakes and floating spars. But her brave master was no more.

A shot from one of the batteries had struck him; and he died by the most enviable of all deaths, in sight of the city which was his birth-place, which was his home, and which had just been saved by his courage and self devotion from the most frightful form of destruction. The night had closed in before the conflict at the boom began; but the flash of the guns was seen and the noise heard, by the lean and ghastly multitude which covered the walls of the city. . . . Even after the barricade had been passed there was a terrible half-hour of suspense. It was ten o'clock before the ships arrived at the quay: the whole population was there to welcome them. A screen made of casks filled with earth was hastily thrown up to protect the landing place from the batteries on the other side of the river; and then the work of unloading began. First were rolled on shore barrels containing six thousand bushels of meal. Then came great cheeses, casks of beef, flitches of bacon, kegs of butter, sacks of pease and biscuits, ankers of brandy. Not many hours before, half a pound of tallow and three quarters of a pound of salted hide had been weighed out with niggardly care to every fighting man. . . . The bonfires shone bright along the whole circuit of the ramparts. The Irish guns continued to roar all night; and all night the bells of the rescued city made answer to the Irish guns with a peal of joyous defiance. Through the whole of the 31st of July the batteries of the enemy continued to play. But soon after the sun had again gone down, flames were seen arising from the camp; and when the first of August dawned, a line of smoking ruins marked the site lately occupied by the huts of the besiegers; and the citizens saw afar off

LOUIS XIV

the long column of pikes and standards retreating up the left bank of the Foyle towards Strabane.' [1]

Aided by the French, the Irish maintained the struggle for two years more. On July 1 (1690) William signally defeated James's army at the Battle of the Boyne, near Drogheda. On October 3, 1691, Limerick capitulated to General Ginkel, one of William's Dutchmen. The Irish soldiers of the garrison

were allowed to go to France, to enlist under the French Crown.[2]

The French Wars. When William became King of England, Holland (where he held the position of Stadtholder) and the Empire were engaged in war against Louis XIV of France. Louis was aiming at the annexation of Strasburg in Alsace, so that France should have the famous 'Rhine frontier' which has been so often fought for. The Empire was

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, iii. 235–7.

[2] For further particulars on Irish history, see ch. xxvii, pp. 598–615.

the confederation of the German States under an elected head, who for more than 200 years had been chosen from the rulers of Austria. The Emperor, Leopold I, fought strenuously against losing Strasburg. Holland, on the other hand, was chiefly interested in the 'Spanish Netherlands'. These consisted of the provinces which now make up the kingdom of Belgium. In the seventeenth century they were still under Spain, who had once held Holland too, though she lost that country by the year 1609. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish power had become very slight, and when Louis XIV set out to annex part of the Spanish Netherlands, Spain could not resist. Holland, however, and, under William III, England made common cause against France. Antwerp was the port of the Spanish Netherlands. It was believed that if a great naval and military Power like France held Antwerp, England and Holland would never for a moment be safe. Certainly if Louis XIV had defeated William III, the Revolution Settlement would have been undone, and James II would have been restored. Therefore this war has been called *the War of the English Succession.*

The campaign. From 1689 till 1697 England, along with Holland and the Empire, was fighting France. For the most part it was a continental war, fought upon the land, in Europe, and not upon the sea or in the New World. The Low Countries —Belgium—were the scene of the fighting, for it was the grand object of William to expel the French thence. The King personally commanded the British army abroad, for indeed he was the only man in England who was whole-heartedly for the war. The people did not realize how important for them was the question of Belgium and the port of Antwerp.

Of King William it may be said that he never won a battle and never lost an army. In those days armies were small, and it was impossible for them to entrench themselves along the whole extent of a country. The longest line that an army of 20,000 or 30,000 could dig could always be circumvented. In the most modern times, when the soldiers of armies are

numbered by the million, warfare has become siege warfare. Trenches are dug and held almost from sea to sea, and can only be captured after prolonged siege operations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries warfare was open. Incapable of entrenching across a hundred miles of country, each army sought out the other, to destroy it. The number of armies which any nation could put in the field was strictly limited. Therefore if, for instance, Louis XIV's army had destroyed William's, the war would have been at an end.

BANK OF ENGLAND
The early building

The skill of William III as a general lay in meeting his opponent, making a good fight, and getting away with the bulk of his army intact. Of such a kind was the battle of Steinkirk (1692), near Namur, and Landen (1693), both to be counted as victories for the French. Yet William, by saving his armies, prevented the war at least from being brought to a decisive conclusion. So it dragged on till finally every one felt that 'the last écu d'or', as Louis XIV said, would decide it. Yet though France was getting exhausted, England was feeling the strain too. The Bank of England was established, with a royal charter, in 1694, to attract money for financing the war. The English, however, grew impatient, for it takes a long time for a country to bleed to death; at the

end of eight years of warfare France was still fighting vigorously, while the national debt of England was growing ever higher. William himself felt that peace must be made, though he only meant to get ready for the next conflict with France, which he felt was coming. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick was concluded,

each side restoring its conquests, except Strasburg, which was retained by France. The Spanish Netherlands were saved, and Antwerp remained outside French power. Thus England could breathe again. Yet no final settlement was reached, for France was still in a position to stretch out her hand and take Antwerp again. The spectre of another and greater war to come lay over Europe.

Death of William III. William died on March 8, 1702. About three weeks before, when riding at Hampton Court, his horse had stepped on a mole-hill, and thrown him down, so that his collar-bone was broken. His health was always bad, and his constitution did not survive the shock. He was a silent, dry Dutchman, deep in policy, heroic in his courage. His life was one long struggle against scheming politicians at home, and his great enemy, Louis XIV, abroad. He gave his whole time to affairs of State, taking part in no amusements whatever, except hunting, to which he was passionately addicted. He gave civil freedom to England, and, for a time at least, secured her safety from abroad. For these gifts England must thank this great statesman, who died unloved but respected by his people.

ANNE

The reign of Queen Anne. Anne was the daughter of James II and of Anne Hyde, his first wife. She had been brought up as a member of the Church of England, to which she remained a devoted adherent all her life. She had accepted the Revolution Settlement, and had lived since 1689 with William and Mary, who had no children. On the death of William she succeeded him, and, although herself a Stuart, was quite naturally accepted as a constitutional ruler. Under her the sovereign began to take less part in the Council of ministers, which came more and more to assume the character of the modern Cabinet.

Her reign presents one of the most brilliant periods of English history. It was, indeed, never free from war except in the last year, but the armies, as was customary at that time, absorbed only a tiny fraction of the male population, while the business of supplying them with munitions of war was not very great. The campaigns were fought in

the summer; the rest of the year was spent in garrison towns, among the allies abroad. Outside the campaigning season, officers could get leave for months at a time, to return to their homes in England—a system described by Thackeray in his novel of *Henry Esmond*.

Thus the war scarcely interrupted the fruitful works of peace. The ships of the East India Company, the fast-sailing 'East Indiamen', built at Deptford, sailed regularly to Bombay and Calcutta. Sugar, tobacco, and rice were brought from the southern colonies of America, furs from the country round Hudson Bay. England became expansive, imperial. In the coffee-houses, which began in the reign of Charles II, people met to talk as they do now in the clubs of Pall Mall and Piccadilly; printed news sheets were handed round, and the affairs of the world discussed. Men began to know something of the great lands overseas. The Army remained the fashionable service for gentlemen, but the Navy became the pride of the land, and the career of Cloudesley Shovell, who rose from being cabin-boy to admiral, was known to every one.

The love of letters increased and literature flourished. Twice or thrice a week in the *Spectator* men could read at breakfast time the melodious sentences of Addison and absorb his genial wisdom. Pope, brilliant in intellect as weak in body, wrote the *Essay on Criticism*, full of wit, in perfectly formed verses. It was not till the next reign that Defoe wrote his great novel *Robinson Crusoe*, but his wonderful political pamphlets were supplying food for thought for the now eminently political Englishmen. Swift's satires were stinging the Whig Government to fury, though *Gulliver* was not to come till the reign of George I. The polished elegance of Bolingbroke swayed the Parliament; while the witty Congreve was still delighting with his comedies great audiences, whose minds were not revolted by the licentiousness that has since removed these plays from the stage. Englishmen learned to love letters, and every one took

to writing sensibly and smoothly. A moderate prosperity was over the country. Dutch methods had resulted in draining the land; new crops, roots especially, were being cultivated. The history of the Poor Law shows a decline in pauperism; learning, literature, agriculture, trade, pursued with moderation in a not too ambitious age, flourished together. The men of the early eighteenth century were satisfied with themselves. They were singularly free from mental and spiritual unrest. They accepted the world as they found it, and enjoyed it to the full.

The cause of the Spanish Succession War. The cause of the great war which lasted from 1702 to 1713 was the will of the King of Spain, Charles II. Charles was the last of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg House. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marriage alliances and blood relationship sometimes caused the transfer of a country from one Power to another. Charles II of Spain had no children; one sister had married Louis XIV, another had married the Emperor Leopold, the ruler of Austria. Both these monarchs claimed Spain as an inheritance from their brother-in-law.

The question of the Spanish Succession involved much more than the Spanish peninsula. The Empire of Spain included Milan, Naples, and Sicily in Italy, the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium), and the greater part of South America. William III had done all in his power to bring about an amicable settlement of the succession by arranging a division of the great Spanish inheritance among the chief claimants. The Second Partition Treaty[1] (1700) arranged that the Emperor's second son Charles should be King of Spain, with the Spanish colonial dominions under him; while France should get the Italian dominions of Spain—Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

[1] The *First* Partition Treaty came to nothing. It was concluded in October 1698 at the Hague between England, Holland, and France, and it arranged that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, Austria should have the Milanese, and France should have Naples and Guipuscoa (province on Bay of Biscay). But the Electoral Prince died next year (1699).

This division, it was believed, would leave France and the House of Austria vastly increased in power, but yet equal to one another—a careful 'balance of power' being considered necessary to preserve peace in Europe. England in the Partition Treaty asked nothing for herself; she was only interested in securing such a division of the Spanish dominions between Spain and the Empire as would prevent any one of them from becoming lord of all Europe.

Shortly after the signature of the Second Partition Treaty Charles II of Spain died, when it was found he had made a will leaving his inheritance (that is to say, Spain and the whole of her Empire) to Philip of Anjou, the second grandson of Louis XIV. Louis at once accepted the splendid gift for his grandson. France and Spain would now be ruled by members of the same house. 'The Pyrenees', he said to the envoy who was to carry his letter of acceptance to Madrid, 'no longer exist.'

The interest of England in the Spanish Succession. The Spanish Succession affected the European balance of power; and in England interest in maintaining the balance was very real. If a French prince should acquire the whole Spanish Empire, England might, at some time or other, lie at France's mercy. All Europe would then be dominated by that Power, so that no other country would be able to settle its own affairs without the leave of France. Such a high position was almost attained by Napoleon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was nearly attained by Germany in the war of 1914. Such a European domination would have prevented the free action of any smaller State. England, for instance, after 1700, if France had been supreme in Europe, would not have been allowed to develop along her own lines of constitutional government. The Stuart family would have been restored to the throne. The Protestant Settlement would have been overturned. So much did England depend upon a balance of power in Europe.

In addition, however, to her vital interest in the balance of

power in Europe, England had a particular interest in the Spanish Netherlands (or Belgium). If these, with their great port of Antwerp, had fallen into the power of a great naval and military State like France, England, as already explained (p. 403), would never have been safe. When William III died on March 8, 1702, he had arranged a Grand Alliance between England, the Dutch, and the Empire, to prevent the aggrandizement of France. The object of the Alliance was to make the Emperor's second son Charles King of Spain, with such a division of the Spanish Empire as would not unduly increase the power of any one country. Article VIII of the Grand Alliance (September 7, 1701) runs as follows:

'It shall not be permitted to either Party when the War is once begun, to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unless jointly and with the common advices of the other Partys; and no Peace shall be made unless an equitable and reasonable satisfaction for his Imperial Majesty, and the particular Security of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dominions, Navigations and Commerce, for his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the States General, be first obtained; and unless care be taken by fitting security that the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* shall never come to be united under the same Government, nor that one and the same Person shall be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly that the French shall never get into the Possession of the Spanish Indies, neither shall they be permitted to sail thither on the account of Traffic directly or indirectly on any pretence whatsoever: and lastly, unless full liberty be granted unto the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* and the States General, to exercise and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunitys and Franchises of Commerce by Sea and Land, in *Spain*, the *Mediterranean*, and all Lands and Places which the King of Spain last deceas'd did possess at the time of his Death, as well in Europe as elsewhere, which they us'd and enjoy'd, or which the Subjects of both or either of them by any Right acquir'd by Treatys, Agreements, Customs or any other way whatsoever, might have us'd and enjoy'd before the Death of the late King of Spain.'[1]

The campaigns. As far as England was concerned, the War of the Spanish Succession was fought in three 'theatres'.

[1] *A General Collection of Treaties* (1732), i. 419.

The first was in the Low Countries (with an extension in 1704 into Bavaria); the second was in Spain; the third was on the sea. The hero of the Low Countries war was the Duke of Marlborough, ably assisted by the great Imperialist general, Prince Eugène of Savoy. The hero of the Spanish war was the brilliant, though less solid, Earl of Peterborough. The heroes of the war at sea were Rooke and Shovell.

The Duke of Marlborough. John Churchill was one of the greatest and the weakest of mankind. A magnificent general, careful of his soldiers' lives, careful of the dignity of his country and the interests of his allies, he could yet stoop to deceit in order to make money, and would intrigue against an able fellow general, for fear of finding in him a rival. The character of this great man is described in *Henry Esmond*—his heroic qualities, his small jealousies, his secret intrigues with the exiled Stuarts.

John Churchill was born in 1650 at Ashe in Devonshire. His father was Sir Winston Churchill, belonging to an old Dorsetshire family. John went to St. Paul's School in the City of London, and was educated in Latin and Greek. He was never able to spell properly in English. On leaving school he became a page to James, Duke of York (James II), and at the age of 17 became an ensign—a subaltern—in the Foot Guards. He served in the garrison at Tangier, which had come into English possession as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza (it was abandoned in 1685). In 1672 he served with the English contingent which was helping the French in the war against the Dutch. The great Marshal Turenne mentioned him for gallantry. He was a most handsome young man and made friends easily. The Duchess of Cleveland, who liked his looks and sprightly conversation, gave him £5,000. Young Churchill at once bought an annuity of £500 a year, and so became a gentleman of independent means. After this he served with the forces in Scotland, when the Duke of York was governor, and was rewarded with a Scottish peerage. When the Duke became King James II, he sent

Churchill on a diplomatic mission, to get, if possible, an increase in the subsidy which Louis XIV was paying to the English Crown. The soldier carried out this delicate mission with the same skill as he showed in military affairs. At the battle of Sedgemoor (p. 395) he commanded under the Earl of Feversham. When William of Orange came over to England in 1688, Churchill went over to his side, and from this time his career was made. He held high positions under William III, and after the death of General Talmash in the expedition against Brest in 1694 there was no one to compare with him in the British Army. Throughout this time he maintained a correspondence with the exiled James II. Such was the man who on the opening of the Spanish Succession War was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces. Yet never had England a finer soldier, or one more strenuous in face of the enemy.

The Earl of Peterborough. Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, was one of the most brilliant men of a brilliant age. Born of a noble family in 1658, he was educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, which he entered at the age of 16. Next year (1675) he went to sea as a volunteer on H.M.S. *Cambridge*, which was commanded by his kinsman, Captain Arthur Herbert, later known as Admiral Lord Torrington. Although a young gallant of wealth and influence, he did not, like so many other favourites of fortune in the reign of Charles II, quit the sea; he served in one ship after another for five years. In 1680 he volunteered for land service at Tangier against the Moors. The period of James II's reign was passed by him mainly in political life (for he was a most active member of the House of Lords); in 1687 he commanded a squadron in the West Indies. In 1688 he went to Holland, and along with his intriguing friend Major Wildman (whom Disraeli in *Sybil* calls 'the soul of English politics in the most eventful period of this kingdom and one most interesting to this age, from 1640–1688') he took part in the negotiations for bringing over William of Orange. He became a close friend of William, and received a number of posts, including

a colonelcy of horse and the office of water-bailiff of the Severn river. He remained in political life throughout William's reign and was one of the leading men. He patronized men of letters, debated on philosophy with his eminent friend John Locke, went out continually into the fashionable world, dined in company, was known as a great wit, an eloquent speaker, and a delightful writer of letters. He looked like neither a sailor nor a soldier, for he was small and thin, elegant and well mannered, without any appearance of strength or vigour. Yet no man was so fertile in resource, or dashing in fight. In 1705 he was appointed to joint command with Cloudesley Shovell of a fleet which was sailing to Spain. It was not on the sea, however, that his fresh laurels were to be won: it was in arduous and wonderful campaigns on land.

Rooke. Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet, was born in 1650. In the seventeenth century there was no permanent naval service. Officers and men were engaged for a particular voyage or period, and at the end of their time were paid off. They then retired into private life, or entered the Army, or did what they pleased (often living in poverty and distress) till the King asked for sailors again.

The officers in the last half of the seventeenth century were of two kinds—gentlemen and 'tarpaulins'. The gentlemen sailors were men of good family, who obtained command of a ship by Court favour without having any particular experience:

'Any lad of noble birth, any dissolute courtier for whom one of the King's mistresses would speak a word, might hope that a ship of the line, and with it the honour of the country and the lives of hundreds of brave men, would be committed to his care. It mattered not that he had never in his life taken a voyage except on the Thames, that he could not keep his feet in a breeze, that he did not know the difference between latitude and longitude. No previous training was thought necessary; or, at most, he was sent to make a short trip in a man of war, where he was subjected to no discipline, where he was treated with marked respect, and where he lived in a round of revels and amusements. If, in the intervals of feasting, drinking and gambling, he succeeded in learning the

meaning of a few technical phrases and the names of the points of the compass, he was fully qualified to take charge of a three-decker. This is no imaginary description.' [1]

Such sea-captains were of little use, and the occasional disasters of Charles II's Dutch wars were largely due to them. It must be remembered, however, that there were some of these amateur sailors who did magnificently. Blake himself had only been a colonel of horse; Prince Rupert and Monk and Pepys's chief, the Earl of Sandwich, were all landsmen, yet made splendid admirals.

The tarpaulins were real seamen, who started as cabin-boys or men before the mast, never left the sea, engaged on every ship that offered, and, when paid off, remained round the Admiralty or the dockyards till they got another 'berth'. The Navy was their father and mother, and they knew about ships and the sea, if they knew nothing else. Owing to the unfashionableness of the Navy, and the 'casualness' of its employment, the upper classes did not take to the sea in sufficient numbers to absorb all the high positions, and therefore common seamen not infrequently rose to high command.

It was not till the eighteenth century that service in the Navy became something like permanent and men of good family and education took to it for their career. When this happened, gentlemen and tarpaulins were combined, and the modern type of well-mannered, trained, efficient, widely interested naval officer was developed.

Rooke was one of the first of this type, born almost, as it were, before his time. He came of a good family—his father was Sir William Rooke, a Sheriff of Kent—and he took to the sea as a young man, volunteering for the second Dutch War (1672). He never left the sea; no sooner was one ship paid off than another was offered him; for there were few sailor-gentlemen like him, who never refused a commission. In succession he commanded the *Royal Prince*, the *Nonsuch*, the *Hampshire*, and ships with names still to be found in the Navy List. In 1690 he fought in the disastrous battle off

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 301.

Beachy Head against the French, and afterwards at the court-martial of his admiral (Earl of Torrington) stood up for him loyally and helped to secure his deserved acquittal. In 1691 he was vice-admiral of the Blue Squadron (the squadrons of the English Navy were then known by the colour of their admiral's ensign). In 1702 he was made commander-in-chief of the English fleet off Spain and in the Mediterranean.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell. Cloudesley Shovell was a tarpaulin. He did not come of poor parents, but from a respectable family hailing originally from Norwich. He went to sea as cabin-boy to Admiral Sir Christopher Myngs, and later sailed with Admiral Sir John Narborough. In a fight during the first Dutch War (1665–7) he swam from one ship to another, under fire, carrying dispatches. In 1673 he was made a second lieutenant. For the next thirteen years he saw much active service in the Mediterranean against the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He was speedily promoted to be a captain. In 1690 William III made him rear-admiral of the Blue. In the battle of La Hogue against the French (1692) he was second in command under Admiral Russell and 'broke the line' of the enemy's fleet. In 1702, at the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, he held the chief command under Rooke.

Shovell was drowned off the Scilly Islands in October 1707, on the way home after his successful operations in the Mediterranean. There is a fine portrait of him in the Painted Hall at Greenwich Naval College. He was a man who knew the sea perfectly, fought his ships with the highest skill and the utmost courage; and led them to victory in some of the hardest fights in our country's history.

Marlborough's campaigns. The great object entrusted to Marlborough was to secure the Spanish Netherlands, which had been easily occupied by France. English and Dutch troops were employed under him in 1702 and 1703 in operations on the line of the Meuse (Maas). In this quarter they were fairly successful, capturing Liége, Venloo, and other strong places. Most of the German States, including Brandenburg

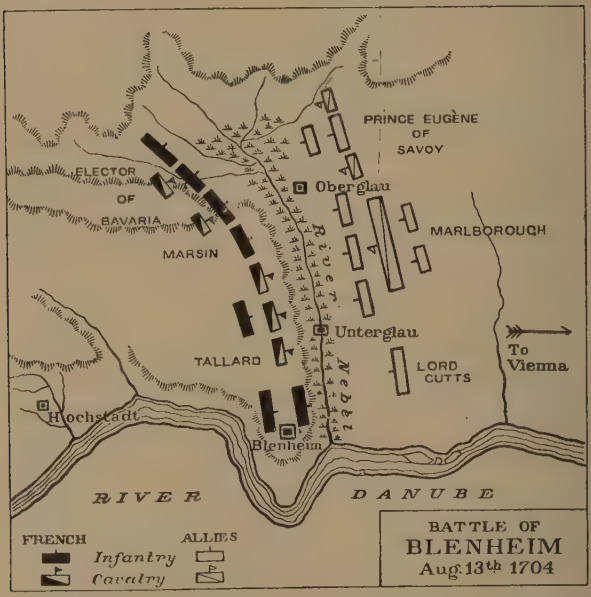
and Hanover, joined the Grand Alliance. Bavaria, however, sided with France, and opened the way for a French army advancing from Alsace towards Vienna. At the same time the Hungarians revolted against Habsburg rule, and the Austrian State, as has often happened since, was on the verge of ruin.

Blenheim. Marlborough formed a heroic resolution. He resolved to march into the south of Germany, and to meet the French in battle in the valley of the Danube. In May 1704 he began the great march up the Rhine. Most of the way was through friendly country, yet it required the greatest organizing skill to keep his army intact, and to ensure his supplies of food and munitions. Marlborough followed the road up the Rhine to Mainz, and then took to the Neckar valley. Near Mondelheim he met Prince Eugène of Savoy, the Imperialist general; it was the first meeting of the two greatest generals of the age. From that time they worked in close concert and friendship with each other. By way of the Neckar and the Pass of Geislingen, they reached the broad valley, or rather plain, of the Danube near Ulm. One sharp battle near Donauwerth gave the Allies control of most of Bavaria; as the Elector of Bavaria refused the Allies' terms, the whole country was, according to the brutal custom of the time, given over by Marlborough to be ravaged by the soldiery.

A French army of 25,000 men, joined by a considerable force of Bavarians, was meanwhile advancing from the west. Near the village of Blenheim, on the north bank of the Danube, Marshal Tallard fixed his lines, and prepared a strong position for defence. Marlborough either had to attack under great disadvantages, or retreat with every prospect of being cut off by the active French general.

The famous battle took place on August 13, 1704. The Grenadier Guards, the 10th Foot (now Lincolnshire Regiment), the 21st Foot (Royal Scots Fusiliers), the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), and the 24th Foot (South Wales Borderers) marched steadily to within thirty paces of the village of Blenheim; although received by a withering fire from the

French at this distance, they still advanced, without stopping to fire a shot, with their Brigadier, Row, on foot leading them, till they had scaled the palisades of the village. Their leader was mortally wounded, and the attack failed. This set-back, however, was rectified by the decision of General Lord Cutts,



who sent the cavalry to protect Row's brigade. On the right of the allied advance, Prince Eugène and the Austrians, by hard fighting, just held their own. Gradually Marlborough worked out his plan; the grand attack on Blenheim was delivered about three o'clock in the afternoon; the village was carried, and the French army routed:

'The first thing that meets my imagination is, the French army broken, routed, flying over the plains of Blenheim, and

choosing rather to throw themselves headlong into the Danube than face about upon their conqueror.' [1]

The gentle genius of Addison was roused to describe the greatness of the victory:

The rout begins, the Gallic squadrons run,
Compelled in crowds to meet the fate they shun.
Thousands of fiery steeds with wounds transfixed,
Floating in gore with their dead masters mixt,
With heaps of spears and standards driven around,
Lie in the Danube's bloody whirlpools drown'd.
Troops of bold youths born on the distant Soane,
Or sounding borders of the rapid Rhone,
Or where the Seine her flowery fields divides,
Or where the Loire through winding vineyards glides:
In heaps the rolling billows sweep away,
And into Scythian seas their bloated corps convey.[2]

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

The result of Blenheim. The dull peasants of the harassed country, even the townspeople who saw the armies passing by on their return, had little conception of the causes of all this fighting, this marching and counter-marching, this perpetual menace of armed men, this continual violent interference with their peaceful pursuits. Their point of view is clearly put by Southey in his well-known poem:

'And everybody praised the Duke
Who this great fight did win.'
'But what good came of it at last?'
Quoth little Peterkin:—
'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
'But 'twas a famous victory.'[3]

[1] Steele, *Crisis*, 1714. [2] Addison, *The Campaign*.
[3] Southey, 'After Blenheim'.

Yet the truth lies deeper. The Spanish Succession War was not a mere struggle of selfish Governments. The battle of Blenheim had prevented Louis from realizing his plan of controlling Western Europe. If this plan had been successful, Austria would have been partitioned, Holland annexed, and the overseas empire of Britain would not have existed.

The wars in the Low Countries. The rest of Marlborough's campaigns were fought in the Spanish Netherlands, on which the French, after the battle of Blenheim had saved Austria from them, retained a firm hold. In 1706 the Allied army met the French under Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies, and almost completely destroyed it. Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges then opened their gates to the great Marlborough. The victory of Oudenarde (1708) was followed by the invasion of France itself, and the capture by Marlborough of the great fortress of Lille, which Marshal Vauban had made so strong. The campaign of 1709 was memorable for the battle of Malplaquet, so bloody that neither side could claim a complete victory, although the French withdrew, and Marlborough accordingly captured Mons. The year 1710 was partly occupied by negotiations. In 1711 a change of government at home (see p. 430) caused the recall of Marlborough. In 1712 the English troops were nearly all withdrawn, so that the French, suddenly attacking Eugène, cleverly snatched a victory at Denain (July 1712).

The war in Spain. Marlborough's campaigns at least saved the Spanish Netherlands from coming into the hands of France. The campaigns in Spain were meant to expel French power from there, but, opening brilliantly, they ended in disaster.

In 1705 the Earl of Peterborough (p. 419), with about 5,000 men (including the Archduke Charles), having sailed by Lisbon and the Straits of Gibraltar, appeared off Barcelona in Catalonia. Then began a series of the most astonishing operations. A landing was effected; siege was laid to the city, which was defended by French and Spanish troops:

'At length, after three weeks of inaction, Peterborough announced his fixed determination to raise the siege. The heavy cannon were sent on board. Preparations were made for re-embarking the troops. Charles and the Prince of Hesse were furious, but most of the officers blamed their general for having delayed so long the measure which he had at last found it necessary to take. On the twelfth of September there were rejoicings and public entertainments in Barcelona for this great deliverance. On the following morning the English flag was flying on the ramparts of Monjuich. The genius and energy of one man had supplied the place of forty battalions.'[1]

Monjuich was the great fortress just outside, and commanded Barcelona. Peterborough had tempted the garrison out to a fight, rushed upon them, scattered them, and entered the gates with the fugitives. Skill, luck, and daring had given him Barcelona.

After this great success, Catalonia, the great eastern province of Spain, declared for the Allies. The rest of the kingdom had chosen the French side, and acknowledged Louis XIV's grandson Philip as king.

In 1706 Peterborough had to deal with a French force of 20,000 men, who came to retake Barcelona. He himself had only 3,000 regular troops, but with the help of some irregular levies, and of the small English fleet (of which he, too, held command), he foiled the French and compelled them to raise the siege. The rest of Peterborough's career, however, was less successful. He was fanciful, perverse, and essentially difficult to work with. There was an Allied army operating on the Portuguese frontier under Lord Galway. This force was enabled, through Peterborough's success in Catalonia, to advance towards Madrid. Peterborough would not co-operate. He was accordingly recalled by the home Government.

[1] Macaulay's *Essays, the War of the Succession in Spain.* Macaulay's narrative is drawn largely from the *Military Memoirs* of Captain George Carleton, published in 1728. These *Memoirs* have sometimes been attributed to Swift or to Defoe, but they are now believed to be genuine. Carleton was a volunteer in the English Fleet in the Dutch War of 1672; next he served under the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, and in 1705 he served under Peterborough in Spain.

The value of Peterborough's work lay in raising Catalonia, the important and populous maritime province of Spain, and in drawing the bulk of the Franco-Spanish troops to that region. Galway was therefore able to occupy Madrid. He found then, however, what Napoleon was to find later, that to conquer the Spanish capital is not to conquer Spain. The people as a whole had adopted the French side, and looked upon Philip of Anjou—Philip V—as their national king. A 'guerrilla' warfare, a war of local bands, began in the provinces, and the Allies were to experience the truth of what the French king, Henry IV, had once said: 'If you invade Spain with a large army, you are starved; if with a small army, you are beaten.'

The loss of Spain. Marlborough had arranged that in 1707 a grand triple invasion of France should take place. He himself would invade it from the Low Countries. An imperial army was to come from Italy and besiege Toulon (as actually happened). Galway was to invade France from Spain. Galway, however, was defeated by the French under the Duke of Berwick (a son of James II) at Almanza (April 1707). This, and also the failure at Toulon, spoiled Marlborough's plan of a triple invasion of France. In 1710 the Allies were again in Madrid, but were forced to retreat towards Catalonia. On the way, General Stanhope was brought to battle at Brihuega (in Guadalajara) by the best French general, the Duke of Vendôme, and defeated. Barcelona, under its brave Catalans, held out till September 1714, but Spain had been irretrievably lost for the Allies.

The Navy. The most striking operation of the Navy was carried out by Rooke and Shovell in 1704. The fleet appeared off Gibraltar. The garrison, with incredible negligence, did not guard the walls. 'A few English sailors climbed the rock', and the impregnable fortress passed under the English flag. The possession of this lonely rock on the coast of Spain is a great source of English strength. Since the cutting of the Suez Canal it is on the ocean-highway to India, and it

secures our entrance to the Mediterranean. The sieges which it has since stood are among the finest episodes in the heroic traditions of the British Army.

The great work of the Navy was to transport men and supplies to the Low Countries and to Spain, in spite of the formidable sea-power of France. Commerce, too, had to be protected against the most active privateering war which the French ships maintained. The English merchant-ships were taken in groups along the main sea-lanes, convoyed by frigates of the Royal Navy.

In the waters around the West Indies there was much fighting, without marked advantage to the English. The commander-in-chief there was Admiral Benbow, the son of a Shrewsbury tanner. In August 1702 he fought an action off Santa Marta against the French. His captains disobeyed him. Benbow's right leg was shot off, but he kept to his quarter-deck, and fought his ship successfully out of the action. He died of his wounds in Jamaica, two months later. The heroic admiral has become a famous, almost a legendary, figure in the traditions of the Royal Navy – a type of those hard-fighting, generous, loyal sailors who 'courted war like a mistress'.[1]

Peace Negotiations. The war had gone, on the whole, well for the Allies. The French were not beaten, but were suffering terribly. The land of France was still safe, but its economic condition was most serious, its supplies of men greatly diminished. The Allies, however, had missed the tide. In 1707 Louis XIV had offered to give up the claim of his house on Spain, if his grandson could get Milan and Naples (the Spanish possessions in Italy) as a kingdom. The Emperor and the British Government refused. Yet in 1713 the Government was glad to accept worse terms. For by that time it had been clearly shown that Spain could never be conquered, and that France could not be overrun.

The Peace of Utrecht. A Whig Government was carrying

[1] See R. L. Stevenson, 'The English Admirals' (in *Virginibus puerisque*).

on the war. In 1710 Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon in St. Paul's, upholding the old Tory principle of non-resistance —that is, the principle of perfect obedience to the Crown. The Whig Government then took the amazing step of impeaching him for attacking the 'Revolution Settlement'. The anger of the country at this most tyrannous and futile procedure of the 'party of liberty' showed Queen Anne that the Whigs had lost their hold on the country. She dissolved Parliament, and the Tories gained a large majority at the general election. They had never been enthusiastic for the war, as may be judged from Dean Swift's famous Tory pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies* (1712).

'. . . Against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries. Secondly—we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves. Lastly—we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us.'

The Tory Government, in which the two chief men were Harley and St. John, now resolved to make peace. In this they were right. They were in a good military position, and could get all necessary cessions and guarantees from the French, provided Philip of Anjou was left King of Spain; and the history of the war since 1707 showed that the Allies could not prevent this. The fault to be found with the Tory peace is that it was made behind the back of the Emperor, our ally. Article VIII of the Grand Alliance (p. 417) had obliged all the allies to negotiate for peace only in concert. Knowing, however, that the Emperor was determined to fight on, Harley and St. John started separate negotiations with the French, in which the Dutch Government also joined.

The Treaties concluded at Utrecht in 1713 guaranteed that though Philip of Anjou should remain King of Spain, that

country should never be united under the same monarch with France. Moreover, it separated the Spanish Netherlands and Milan from the Spanish Empire, and gave them to Austria. The Emperor would not recognize the satisfaction thus offered to him, until another year of ineffective fighting convinced him that he could not fight on alone. The fortresses on the frontier of the Spanish (renamed the 'Austrian') Netherlands towards France were to be garrisoned by the

Dutch, as a pledge that this 'barrier' should be respected. France ceded to England Newfoundland, Acadie (Nova Scotia), and the French settlements round Hudson Bay. Gibraltar was retained from Spain, along with the island of Minorca. An *Assiento* or contract included in the Utrecht arrangements gave to Great Britain the exclusive right of supplying negro slaves to the Spanish-American colonies. Great Britain also acquired the privilege of sending one trading-ship each year to Portobello on the Isthmus of Panama.

The war cannot be said to have been a failure. If the

succession of a French prince to the throne of Spain had not been prevented, at any rate French power in the Low Countries had been destroyed. There was no longer any chance of a French fleet threatening the peace and safety of England from Antwerp; the Dutch were safe too, for now the Austrian Netherlands intervened between them and France. Austria, though not treated frankly by the Allies in the peace negotiations, had not been neglected in her material interests; the Spanish Netherlands and Milan (with Naples and Sicily added

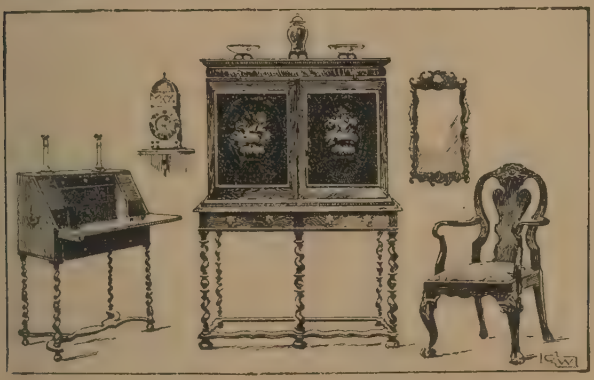
THE CLARENDON BUILDING, OXFORD, 1713–1830 the Printing-house of the Clarendon Press. Designed by SIR JOHN VANBRUGH

'Lie heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.

soon after) formed a splendid prize. England might have gained more, but put forward only moderate claims. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were great possessions, but the French Empire on the St. Lawrence and Mississippi was still intact.

The death of Anne. The Queen's health was failing. The Act of Settlement, 1701, had fixed the succession, in the event of Anne dying without children, in the line of the Electress Sophia of Hanover. Sophia was a daughter of the Princess Elizabeth, and granddaughter of King James I. She was, like her

mother, a firm upholder of the Reformed Church in Germany; her son George had distinguished himself as a general in the Imperial Army in the War of the Spanish Succession. Queen Anne, however, was known to sympathize with the exiled House of Stuart, of which she was a member. The chief ministers were in correspondence with the 'Old Pretender',[1] the son of James II. The people as a whole did not like the idea of a German prince, who could not even speak English, becoming their sovereign. The minds of the ministers,



QUEEN ANNE FURNITURE

however, were not quite made up. They knew the English would not easily acquiesce in a Roman Catholic king; and yet the Pretender would not promise to give up his religion. Harley (created Earl of Oxford in 1711) and St. John (created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712) may have meant to proceed cautiously, to bring over George as king, on such terms as would safeguard the Tory party and their own power; or to bring over the Pretender, on such terms as would safeguard the Church of England. Most of the evidence seems to point

[1] The word Pretender applied to James III and his son is an English rendering, or rather mis-rendering, of the French word *prétendant*, a claimant.

to the conclusion that Bolingbroke at any rate was working to restore the House of Stuart. On July 27 he brought about the dismissal of Harley. Anne's death, however, took him by surprise. On July 30 she had a fit of apoplexy. Her final decline was rapid. The party in the Government which favoured the Protestant Succession of the House of Hanover, led by the Duke of Shrewsbury, suddenly asserted themselves. They obtained the admission of two powerful Whigs, the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Somerset, to the special meeting of Privy Councillors. Anne died next day (August 1, 1714), and George of Hanover was at once declared King of England:

'DEAR DEAN,

'The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday: the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us.' (St. John to Dean Swift.)

The Union with Scotland (1707). During the late Queen's reign a most notable act of peace had been accomplished. Scotland and England were united under one Government. Although joined under one crown, by the accession of James I to the English throne in 1603, the two countries had retained their separate Governments—each had its own Council and Parliament. The Revolution of 1688 established constitutional monarchy in each country; and, although the same sovereign ruled over both, he might have to accept one kind of advice from the Government in England and another from the Government in Scotland. In the later years of William III and in the early years of Anne's reign, a great deal of friction took place between the English and Scottish Governments. In 1698 the attempt of the Scots to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien proved a disastrous failure, which was ascribed to lack of sympathy on the part of the English Government. The English Navigation Acts bore very hard upon the trade of the Scots, who were treated as belonging to a foreign country. In 1703 feeling ran so high that the Scottish Parliament passed an 'Act of Security'. This

authorized the Parliament, on the death of Anne, to choose a successor other than the one chosen in England. Anne, as a constitutional monarch, had to assent to the Act of Security, although it seemed to foreshadow the break-up of her inheritance. It was clear, in fact, that either closer union must come, or entire separation.

The English Government faced the situation boldly, and in a generous spirit proposed a complete union between the two countries. The terms were arranged as a treaty between Scotland and England. Commissioners from either side met in London, and the terms were freely debated, and discussed at full length. Finally, a treaty was drawn up, and adopted, after considerable opposition in each Parliament. This Treaty, or Act of Union, agreed that the Scottish Council and Parliament should cease to exist, and that there should henceforth be only one Government for the two countries. The Scots were to retain their own established Presbyterian Church, and their own legal system with its venerable 'College of Justice' in Edinburgh. Trade between the two countries was to be free, and no legal difference was to be recognized between Scotsmen and Englishmen throughout the British Empire. The United Kingdom was henceforth to be known as Great Britain (March 6, 1707).

Success of the Union. Although carried through for reasons of State, without any enthusiasm for it anywhere, the Union has proved a striking success. Admitted on free and equal terms to participate in England and England's Empire, the Scots speedily made their way, and rose to high positions in trade and finance, at the Universities and in the Government, in the Navy, Army, and Imperial affairs. The Union, being arranged as a free treaty between the two peoples, left no trace of grievance behind it, no feeling of compulsion; and each country has enormously gained by it—the Scots by the great opportunities opened up to them outside their own small country, the English by the work accomplished by this forceful people in every corner of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST TWO GEORGES

The character of George I. On the death of Queen Anne, George, the son of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, quietly succeeded to the throne. He was fifty-four years of age, honest, well-meaning, and attentive to business. He was unable to speak English, and in any case had very little to say. He knew little about the English people, and had no particular sympathy with them. He tried to do his duty,

GEORGE I.
Medal struck to commemorate naval action off Cape Passaro, 1718

however, and loyally carried out the understanding on which he had come to the throne—namely, that being really a foreigner he should not interfere too much in English affairs. He therefore did not regularly attend the meetings of ministers, and was the less tempted to do so owing to his inability to understand the language.

The Cabinet. 'Cabinet' Government, which had already taken form under Anne, was further developed. The Cabinet is a governing committee of ministers, meeting under the control of the chief or 'prime' minister, and responsible

for its actions to Parliament. The term 'prime minister' was scarcely used in the first half of the eighteenth century, but from 1721 Robert Walpole did in effect occupy this position.

England under the first two Georges. Under the first two Georges England was happy, prosperous, and, on the whole, progressive. In each of the chief forms of national activity some real distinction was achieved.

In politics the period is distinguished by its comparative peacefulness. Between 1714 and 1739 there occurred a Jacobite Rebellion (1715) and a brief naval war with Spain (1718). England was respected abroad. At home the country was well governed, orderly, and free. The laws against Nonconformity remained on the Statute book, but were not pressed by the Administration. The press was free, and maintained a keen interest in politics throughout the country. The level of ability in Parliament was high. Party discipline, however, was in a poor state. Men grouped themselves for the most part in one or other of the two historic parties of Whigs or Tories; the Government was always Whig, and tended to retain its supporters by a distribution of offices and pensions, and this was held, even in those easygoing times, to be something of a public scandal. Walpole, though personally incorruptible, had little scruple in dispensing this kind of bribe to his supporters, and must be held responsible to some extent for passing on a tradition which has not completely disappeared from public life.

The Church of England was not in its most earnest condition. The bishops, being appointed by the Government, were mainly Whig; the lower clergy, being generally appointed by country squires who owned the 'livings', were generally Tory. The lack of preferment depressed the lower clergy, while the higher dignitaries were rather worldly and political. Yet the clergy, both high and low, were a respectable body of men, well educated, not neglecting their duties, although less strenuous than became their calling. A revival

of religious feeling, which left a permanent effect in England and in America, was begun by the brothers Wesley about the year 1730. With Wesley at first was associated George Whitefield, an ordained clergyman of the Church of England,

JOHN WESLEY, 1703–91
Founder of Methodism

whose preaching attained extraordinary popularity with the masses in the period of Walpole and Chatham. Whitefield broke with the Church and spent the latter part of his life in clerical and philanthropic work in America.

In learning and literature the age was famous. Sir Isaac Newton, the greatest of English mathematicians, whose long life lasted from 1642 to 1727, was Master of the Mint. George Berkeley, one of the most beautiful characters of this or any age, takes a high place as a philosopher and as a writer of English, in a century which was one of the greatest both for thought and for prose style. From 1734 till his death in 1753,

he was Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland. The last year of his life was spent in Oxford, where he died. His library is in Yale University in the United States. Daniel Defoe published his best-known works in the reign of George I; it was in

GEORGE WHITEFIELD
1714–70

1719 that *Robinson Crusoe* appeared, to charm every British boy since that time, to widen his interests, extend his outlook, and to give him the enthusiasm of adventure and romance. In 1726 Swift published *Gulliver*; Pope's brilliant and incisive poem, the *Essay on Man*, appeared in 1733; his friend, St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, produced the momentous political pamphlet, the *Idea of a Patriot King*, in 1738. At the University of Cambridge one of the very greatest of classical scholars kept up England's position in the world of learning. This was Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity, who died in 1742. His editions of Terence and Horace

were used in the learned societies of Europe for the rest of the century.

The Rebellion of 1715. George I gave his confidence to Whig ministers from the first. When he had been on the throne of England just a year, the adherents of James, the 'Old Pretender', raised a rebellion in the Highlands and in the south of Scotland, and in the north of England (September 1715). The rising was badly organized, as risings are bound to be when the Government is reasonably efficient and watchful. The Earl of Mar and his Highlanders were checked on Sheriffmuir in Perthshire (November 13, 1715), and on the same day the insurgents of Lancashire had to capitulate at Preston. When the Old Pretender landed at Peterhead, in January 1716, he found the rising practically over, and had to get back to France as best he could. James was a brave man, but with little else to recommend him, and was not fit for the leadership of a desperate rebellion. The chief result of the Rebellion of 1715 was to make George determined never to trust a Tory Government, for he looked upon all Tories, with their romantic attachment to hereditary kingship, as being simply Jacobites. The apprehension of revolution made the greater part of the country agree with him, so that for fifty years the majority of members returned to Parliament were Whig. When the Rebellion of 1715 was dying out, it was considered unwise to risk a General Election, and accordingly the life of Parliament was prolonged from three to seven years (*supra*, p. 405) by the Septennial Act (April 1716), which remained on the Statute Book till 1911.

The Peerage Bill. The Peace of Utrecht (p. 431), though approved in a Tory House of Commons, had only been passed through the House of Lords by the help of the twelve new Tory peers who had been created in 1711. To prevent the use of the Royal Prerogative for party purposes in the future, a Bill was introduced by the Whig Government (which was then led by Earls Stanhope and Sunderland) in 1719, enacting

Inverness
Culloden
Aberdeen
Blair Athol
Perth
Sheriffmuir
Stirling
Leith
Falkirk
Preston Pans
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Kelso
Jedburgh
Moffat
Rothbury
Langholm
Carlisle
Penrith
Preston
Wigan
Manchester
Derby
JACOBITE RISINGS
1715-1745
March of Prince Charles south
Return March
Jacobite Centres 1715
Battlefields

that the number of peers should never at any time be increased by the King by more than six. The number of hereditary peers in 1719 was 178. The measure would have closed the House of Lords to new blood, and would have made it a ruling caste, like the families whose names were inscribed in 1298 in the Golden Book of Venice. Walpole spoke against the Bill, and induced the House of Commons to reject it. A different fate met a Bill to repeal the Occasional Conformity Act. This Act, passed in 1711, debarred from public office all men who merely occasionally conformed to the worship of the Church of England. It was repealed in 1719.

Cape Passaro. Only one battle disturbed the pacific foreign policy of the Whigs from 1714 to 1739 (although a state of war, without any decisive action being fought, existed between Great Britain and Spain in 1726–7). This battle was the naval battle off Cape Passaro in Sicily. After the War of the Spanish Succession Spain had undergone a process of reorganization, and had shown some small revival of vitality. A plan was formed by the Spanish Government for recovering some of the portions of Italy which had been lost in the late war. Advantage was taken of the war which Austria was waging with the Turks. A Spanish army was landed in Sicily. An English fleet, under Admiral George Byng, was dispatched to the Mediterranean, and meeting the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro destroyed it. Thus the settlement made at the Peace of Utrecht was maintained through British sea-power (August 1718). Next year two Spanish frigates landed Lords Seaforth and Tullibardine, exiled Jacobites, with 300 Spanish soldiers, in Ross-shire ; but this expedition was easily defeated, and the leaders and men captured at Glenshiel (June 1719).

The South Sea Bubble. In 1720 a financial crisis occurred which showed the danger of abandoning the old cautious methods. In 1711 a Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas had been formed. The capital of the Company, that is to say, its permanent funds, amounted to the

large sum of £10,000,000, all of which was lent to the Government. For this the Company received 8 per cent. interest.

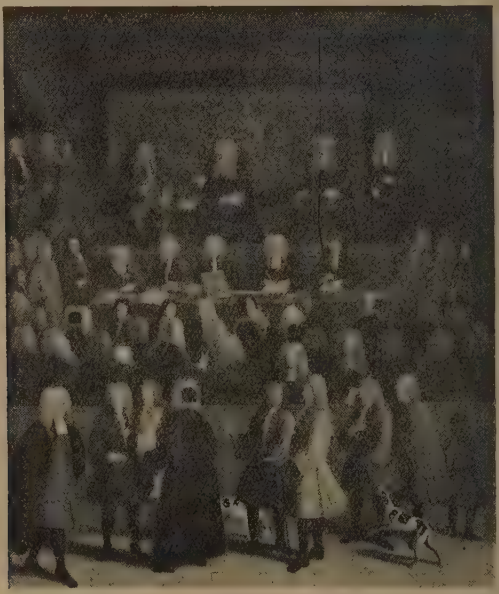
From one point of view, therefore, the Company might be called a 'Trust Company', with its funds invested in Government Stock. It had, however, another side to its activities: it was a trading company. Under one of the treaties drawn up at the Peace of Utrecht (1713) Great Britain had the right to send one ship a year to the Spanish colonies for general trade, and also to supply negroes from Africa for slave-labour. These privileges the Government handed over to the South Sea Company.

In 1720 the ideas of the Company directors had grown too big. They offered to take over about £32,000,000 of the National Debt: that is to say, this Company was to become the debtor of the public who had subscribed the Debt. The Government was to be relieved of its responsibilities for the various loans it had issued, and instead was to owe the whole combined Debt to the Company, at a fixed rate of interest, namely 5 per cent., instead of the 6 to 8 per cent. paid on the previous loans.

The Company hoped to induce all the private holders of Government debt to exchange their stock for shares in the Company. The transaction was quite honest and successful up to a point. The Government stock-holders exchanged their holdings into shares of the Company, and received dividends on those shares. The misfortunes came when people, bidding for these shares, forced the price up, from £100 for one share to £1,000. A share of £100 was worth £100 when the dividend was 5 per cent.; but the same share was only worth £1,000 if the dividend was 50 per cent. As the dividend of the South Sea Company was only 7 or 8 per cent., the people who bought at £1,000 were ruined.

Walpole in power. The Company itself was quite sound. Its holding of Government Stock, and its trade to the South Seas, brought in a respectable revenue. It was the people who had put their all into buying shares at an absurd price who suffered.

So many people were involved that the crisis was nothing less than a national calamity: there was a panic in all commercial circles, and widespread ruin threatened the country. Then the ministers thought of Walpole, the level-headed



THE COURT OF CHANCERY, held in Westminster Hall during the reign of George I. For Costume.

Norfolk squire, who in Parliament had warned the public of the dangers of the scheme, after making a fortune out of it for himself. George I was advised to offer him the chief post in the Ministry, and so Walpole became First Lord of the Treasury (the position which the Prime Minister has usually since held) in April 1721. He took what means could be adopted to relieve the distress; where the directors of the

Company were found to have misled the public (and there had been a good deal of bribery between the directors and certain courtiers), they were prosecuted, and their property was used to relieve the distress caused by the panic.

The Government took back part of its National Debt obligations, and the Company, with a reduced capital, went on with its legitimate functions in overseas trade. All through

ROBERT WALPOLE (seated). First Lord of the Treasury 1721–42

the crisis its £100 shares had not fallen below £175, which shows its essential soundness. The slave trade, fortunately, does not figure much in its annals. As an exporting and importing firm it continued to carry on a small trade with South America till the year 1748. The saddest thing about the crisis had been the undoubted fact that English Ministers had themselves been dealing in the stocks, and using their knowledge to make money from the credulity of the public.

Walpole. Robert Walpole was born in 1676. His father,

the squire of Houghton, in Norfolk, had nineteen children, and Robert, the fifth, was the eldest who survived. He went to school at Eton, as a Colleger maintained by the foundation ; his portrait is to be seen in Eton College Hall. From Eton he went to King's College, Cambridge. When he was 24 years old he married, and when he was 25 his father died. Walpole thus became a country gentleman of independent means, his income from Houghton estate being £2,000 a year. The small borough of Castle Rising on the estate returned a member to Parliament ; the squire himself became the member.

Walpole was always a Whig, and the Whigs were the most influential party for most of Queen Anne's reign. The chiefs of the party soon noticed his sterling sense, his industry. After showing his sound qualities in subordinate office, he was made Secretary-at-War in 1708. In 1712, after the Whigs had been displaced from office, he was impeached on a charge of corruptly receiving money while Secretary-at-War. He was sentenced to a short term of confinement in the Tower of London. There is no doubt, however, that he was personally quite honest, and that he never received any money from the country beyond his salary.

On the accession of George I the Whigs came into office, and remained there for nearly fifty years, the Tories being considered Jacobites, and therefore unfit to be in the confidence of either king or country. Walpole became Chancellor of the Exchequer. As Chancellor he had great difficulty in preventing the Hanoverian favourites of the King from getting corrupt grants of public money. In 1717 George I wished to declare war upon Russia. Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend, protested, and retired from the ministry. George I had a great belief in Walpole, and besought him, without effect, with tears in his eyes, to remain. He returned, at an almost unanimous call from the country, in 1721, and was Prime Minister, although he never called himself so, for the next twenty years.

The policy of Walpole. Walpole was a splendid administra-

tor. His policy was peace abroad and prosperity at home: it is the policy which every statesman pursues, but which few have been able to achieve. How Walpole managed, no one can quite say. He was always genial, always sensible. Every one criticized him—one man wanted him to be more vigorous abroad, another wished him to enforce the penal laws against dissent at home. The contemporary verses are filled with outspoken remarks against him:

How happy a state did *Britain* once enjoy,
When no threats from foreign nations our peace could annoy;
Then *Spain* dared not invade
Our *English* merchants trade;
For we by law kept them in awe;
But now we are afraid
To speak for ourselves;
The times are grown so bad,
'Tis my belief that no relief
From peace is to be had;
Consider this my Friends,
If Spain *shou'd gain their ends,*
What will become of us at home,
Since all on Bob *depends?*[1]

Yet, though continually criticized, he was kept in office by the country for twenty years. Had the constituencies wished to get rid of him, they could have done so, as they had displaced the Whigs in 1710 (p. 430), or as they did after 1760. It was not altogether by corruption that Walpole kept his party together; the committee of his opponents, who, after his retirement, examined his administration, could prove nothing against him. No one could deny the good results of his administration. Taxes were low, the Press and the dissenters were left free, the National Debt was diminished, and the colonies carefully and sympathetically managed or, rather, left alone. The Prime Minister's straightforward, good-humoured speeches always appealed to the sense of the House. His affectation—for it was really such—of lack of sentiment was considered truly English. He had, indeed,

[1] *Walpole Ballads*, No. XLVI (edited by M. Percival, Oxford, 1916).

a real faith in his country, and a strong sense of duty. Yet he concealed this under a laughing face, and often under a rather coarse manner of speaking. But it is not fair to ascribe to him the lack of earnestness which then prevailed in England. It was a period of easy circumstances; the preachers and teachers of the day succumbed to a general apathy, which the troubled times prevailing in Europe since Walpole's death have successfully dispelled.

Opposition to Walpole. The great minister was never free from opposition in Parliament. In 1714 Bolingbroke (St. John) had fled to France and taken service under the Pretender, and most actively forwarded the Jacobite cause. The Jacobites were still dangerous. In 1722 a serious conspiracy to bring in Spanish troops was organized by Francis Atterbury, a former Dean of Christ Church, and at this time Bishop of Rochester, one of the most splendid and eloquent divines of the period. The conspiracy was discovered and suppressed. Atterbury died in exile. In 1723 Bolingbroke was allowed to return to England, but not to take his seat in the House of Lords. He therefore devoted his great talents to upholding Tory principles with his pen, and particularly to attacking Walpole in a number of brilliantly written works. The description which he gives of Walpole's administration in the preface to the *Patriot King* is an example of the way in which the great minister was censured; if the history of his administration, writes Bolingbroke, ever came down 'to blacken our annals', it would be laid as the greatest charge against Walpole that he did not pay off the National Debt. In point of fact Walpole reduced the debt from £50,000,000 in 1721 to £43,000,000 in 1741.

It was not, however, the Tories only who formed an opposition. There was a schism in Walpole's own party, the Whigs. One party held by William III's views, and advocated a vigorous policy on the continent of Europe. These 'Old Whigs' thought France still dangerous, and to be combated. Men with such views could not long remain in Walpole's

ST. MARY-LE-STRAND, LONDON. Designed by Gibbs.
1714–17

Cabinet. In 1724 the eminent Carteret, a Secretary of State whose knowledge of foreign politics was unrivalled, had to retire. Walpole got him the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but Carteret is thenceforth found among the Whig opposition.

The Drapier's Letters. In 1723 a contract for making copper coins for Ireland was given to an Englishman, Wood. The outcry got up against this contract, which was quite business-like, shows how unfairly many of Walpole's measures were treated. Dean Swift, cherishing at Dublin his spleen against mankind, vented his particular bad humour upon the Prime Minister:

'In short, these halfpence are like "the accursed thing which", as the Scripture tells us, "the children of Israel were forbidden to touch". They will run about like the plague, and destroy everyone who lays his hand upon them. I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a bull of brass with fire under it: but the prince put the projector first into his brazen bull, to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's fate; that the brass he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.'[1]

Swift gives a satirical account of the way the English regarded Ireland:

'There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico: farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish Papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea; for they have a tradition that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them: "that the wild Irish were taken in toils; but that in some time they would

[1] Swift, *The Drapier's Letters*, I.

grow so tame as to eat out of your hands ". I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants of Pepperharrow, " whether I had come from Ireland by sea ? " and, upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country town, I have known crowds coming about him and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.' [1]

The obnoxious coinage was withdrawn by the Government.

The Excise Bill, 1733. Walpole, the most powerful of English premiers, passed comparatively few measures. Certain acts, like an annual indemnity Bill for Nonconformists, he was careful to see through the House. Others, good in themselves, he withdrew, rather than see the country plunged into agitation. Such was the fate of his Excise Bill. Excise is taxation levied *inside* the country upon various commodities. For instance, beer made in England pays excise. Customs are dues levied on goods coming into the country from abroad. In Great Britain, wine and tobacco, being imported from abroad, have always been subject to customs dues. Walpole proposed to change the customs dues, levied on wine and tobacco at their entrance into the country, into excise dues levied when they were taken out of bond. The object of this proposal was to defer the payment of the dues ; tobacco and wine, shipped to England in order to be exported again to Europe, would not pay duty at all, and trade would be much facilitated. The Excise Bill, if carried into effect, would have lessened, at any rate, the mean and dishonest practice of smuggling, which cheated the revenue of so much money. Under Walpole's proposed system all goods could come freely into the ports, but every shop would have to satisfy the revenue officers concerning the excisable goods which it sold.

Against this Bill the opposition raised such a feeling among the people that Walpole withdrew it. There was, indeed, one great objection to the Bill. It would have involved the examination of shops by Government inspectors ; and as it was often difficult to distinguish between a man's shop and

[1] Ibid., VI.

his private house, the Government inspectors would soon have been searching his private dwelling. Against the compulsory entry of officials into their private dwellings the English citizens have always shown the strongest objection.

Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, under the word 'Excise', takes the opportunity of making a hit at the great Whig, although long since dead: 'A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.'[1]

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. Wanstead House, Essex, about 1720

Adam Smith, one of the earliest, and with his disciple, John Stuart Mill, the greatest of English economists, take a juster view:

'It was the object of the famous excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, to establish, with regard to wine and tobacco, a system not very unlike that which is here proposed.[2] But though the bill which was then brought into Parliament

[1] Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755).

[2] Adam Smith proposed (1776) that taxable goods coming from abroad should be kept in a 'bonded warehouse', and should pay no duty until they were taken out of the warehouse to be sold. This plan was put into effect by William Pitt, the younger.

comprehended those two commodities only, it was generally supposed to be meant as an introduction to a more extensive scheme of the same kind. Faction, combined with the interest of smuggling merchants, raised so violent though so unjust a clamour, against the bill, that the minister thought proper to drop it, and, from a dread of exciting a clamour of the same kind, none of his successors have dared to resume the project.' [1]

HATRED OF EXCISE. Cartoon showing the Lion and the Unicorn yoked to a beer-barrel

Colonial policy. With regard to the Colonies Walpole was an almost ideal minister. For he could not be accused of indifference; yet he never interfered too much. His industrious habits made it possible for him to attend to all sides of Government business, and to study the needs of those dependencies about which English statesmen in the eighteenth century often knew very little. The North American Colonies were left to rule themselves under the governors appointed

[1] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book V, ch. ii, art. iv.

from home. A 'Rice Act' gave freedom to them to ship rice (a great crop of Carolina), without touching at England, to any ports south of Cape Finisterre (1729). A similar privilege was given in respect of sugar under an Act of 1733. Thus a salutary amount of freedom was allowed from the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, which compelled the Colonies to ship directly to British ports.

New reign. George I died in 1727 on his way to Osnabrück in Hanover. His son, George II, like his father, a sensible, good-natured man, made no change in the ministry. He had one great advantage over his father: he could speak English quite fluently. Nevertheless, he was not quite an Englishman: he was too stiff and punctilious, 'so that I have often seen him put so much out of humour at his private levee, by a mistake or blunder of a valet de chambre, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levee have from his looks and silence concluded that he had just received some dreadful news' (Lord Chesterfield).

He was a brave man, and, when the country went to war, quite naturally went with the army, and, sword in hand, led the troops in the attack. He had, too, what the English like, a sense of justice, and was fair to every one. He did not greatly like Walpole (whose exterior was not prim enough for 'dapper George'), but always gave the great minister fair treatment and his confidence. He had a good eye for ability, and was more shrewd than people thought. When some one told him once that Wolfe, whom he was trusting with such high command, was *mad*, George replied: 'I wish he would bite some of my other generals'. He was fortunate in having a very handsome and amiable wife in Queen Caroline, a firm supporter of the minister. Had it not been for her help, Walpole would have found it hard to keep the peace in 1733. The French and Spanish monarchies had signed a 'Family Compact' to support each other, and Walpole knew of its existence, and knew that it meant a danger to England. In 1733 the War of the Polish Succession broke out, France and

Spain taking opposite sides to Austria. A large party in England desired to support Austria. Actually, so short is men's memory of the horrors of war, the people seemed tired of peace. Walpole was, as usual, calm and sensible. England had no interest in the struggle : neither side was fighting for any principle, except to gain power. Walpole's firmness carried the country through the crisis, and it was with some real pride that he could tell his friend, Queen Caroline, that though fifty thousand men had been killed in one year in Europe, not one of them was an Englishman.

GEORGE II

The war of Jenkins's Ear. The end of Walpole's happy administration came in consequence of the war which broke out in 1739. During the peace British commerce had flourished exceedingly, and British ships were sailing on every sea. London and Bristol were among the most thriving ports in Western Europe. Yet the moribund Spanish Empire still stood in the way, shutting out English commerce from half the New World. Spain could neither develop her empire herself nor endure the thought of any one else doing so. Her *guarda costas* kept a watch in the waters round the Spanish Colonies, and prevented trading. Under one of the treaties made at the Peace of Utrecht, the South Sea Company exercised the right of sending one ship of five hundred tons burden each year to the South Seas (see p. 431) ; this ship on each voyage was met and restocked several times by other ships dispatched for the purpose—a practice of which the

Spanish Government bitterly complained, although the Spanish colonists, who could get goods in no other way, welcomed it. The English, on their side, were just as jealous of their own rights in the English Colonies, and, if the Spaniards had been in a position to trade with them, would have been equally resentful.

One Jenkins, the master of a sloop which traded from Jamaica, came forward in 1738 with a tale of having been stopped by Spanish *guarda costas*, searched, and having had his ear torn off. Whether the man was a fraud or not has never been quite proved. Anyhow, the war party made great use of him, and the British Lion was roused by the story of his woe.

Walpole had no sympathy with the agitation. If there were grievances, he said, let them be adjusted peacefully. He arranged a convention (called the Convention of the Pardo): the claims of England and Spain for damages were to be set off one against the other, and the balance, £95,000, to be handed over to the English Government (1739). Walpole thought he had weathered the storm once more. He defended his conduct in Parliament with his usual vigour and lucidity:

'It requires no great art, no great abilities in a minister,' exclaimed Walpole, 'to pursue such measures as might make a war unavoidable. That is a very easy matter; but, Sir, how many ministers have you had, who knew the art of avoiding war, by making a safe and honourable peace?'[1]

The Opposition, however, roused the country against him. In the Opposition was a fiery, eloquent young man, William Pitt, 'this terrible cornet of horse',[2] as Walpole called him. His speech on the Spanish Convention, in the session of Parliament of 1739, expressed the temper of the nation:

'Is this', he cried, 'any longer a nation, or what is an Eng-

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xx.

[2] Pitt had been a cornet in Lord Cobham's regiment of horse, but was dismissed from the Army for a speech made in Parliament in 1736.

lish Parliament, if with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this debate. It carries fallacy or downright subjection in almost every line; it has been laid open or exposed in so many strong and glaring lights that I cannot pretend to add anything to the conviction and indignation it has raised.'[1]

It was one of Pitt's great merits that he thought of the Empire as a whole, and not of England only, and his speech on this occasion, if not wise in all respects, at least shows his wide outlook. Yet the Opposition in this instance cannot be acquitted of using the war-cry in order to drive Walpole from the Government:

'Some years after,' wrote Burke, 'it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned.'[2]

Unfortunately for his reputation, Walpole did not allow himself to be driven from office. A minister who cannot conscientiously approve of a policy should not consent to carry it out. Yet Walpole tried to do this. 'They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands.' He probably thought the people would get over their madness, and be glad of his policy of common sense again. Unfortunately, war has a way of spreading. The war over 'Jenkins's Ear' soon involved not Spain and England only, but France, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria, likewise.

Condition of the Navy. England and Spain were maritime empires, and the war was conducted at sea. It was the South American trade that the merchants were interested in, and accordingly it was to South America that the fleets were

[1] Mahon, *History of England.* [2] Ibid.

sent. One expedition went against the Atlantic coast, another against the Pacific coast. The novelist Smollett was a surgeon's mate in the expedition to Cartagena, and in *Roderick Random* he describes the conditions of life on His Majesty's ships in the middle of the eighteenth century:

'After dinner Thomson led me round the ship, showed me the different parts, described their uses, and, as far as he could, made me acquainted with the particulars of the discipline and economy practised on board. He then demanded of the boatswain an hammock for me, which was slung in a very neat manner by my friend Jack Rattlin; and as I had no bed-clothes, procured credit for me, with the purser, for a mattress and two blankets. At seven o'clock in the evening, Morgan visited the sick, and having ordered what was proper for each, I assisted Thomson in making up his prescriptions; but when I followed him with the medicines into the sick berth or hospital, and observed the situations of the patients, I was much less surprised that people should die on board than that any sick person should recover. Here I saw about fifty miserable distempered wretches, suspended in rows, so huddled one upon another, that not more than fourteen inches space was allotted for each with his bed and bedding; and deprived of the light of day, as well as of fresh air, breathing nothing but a noisome atmosphere of the morbid steams exhaling from their own excrements and diseased bodies, devoured with vermin hatched in the filth that surrounded them and destitute of every convenience necessary for people in that helpless condition.'[1]

Anson's Voyage. Commodore George Anson was born in 1697, and had entered the Navy at the age of 13. Without either wealth or influence, he had risen to the position of captain, through strict attention to his profession. He was a man of few words, but nobody knew more about ships and sailors. He was cool, courageous, and careful to carry out instructions—one of the steadiest sailors in a service distinguished for good sense and judgement.

The squadron which went out with him in 1740 consisted

[1] Smollett, *Roderick Random*, ch. xxv.

of the *Centurion*, 60 guns and 400 men, the *Gloucester* and the *Severn* (each 50 guns and 300 men), the *Pearl*, 40 guns, the *Wager*, 28 guns, and the sloop *Trial*—a mere cockle-shell—8 guns. They left Portsmouth in September, and sailed across the Atlantic to Brazil; then south towards Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan. Off Tierra del Fuego the squadron was scattered by a storm. The Commodore's flagship, the *Centurion*, went on its way alone. By the beginning of summer, 1741, it had sailed round South America to the quiet waters of the Pacific. Horrid ailments attacked the crew—scurvy, jaundice, ulcers, rheumatism—due to the lack of proper nourishment. Two hundred of the crew died. At last they reached Juan Fernandez, Robinson Crusoe's island, where Alexander Selkirk, the Scottish sailor, had lived alone between 1704 and 1709. The island was uninhabited; the sailors joyfully roamed over it, refreshing themselves with wild fruit and herbs, and the flesh of goats that they killed. The first goat shot was an aged animal with 'an exceeding majestic beard, and most venerable aspect', a survivor, they thought, of Alexander Selkirk's little herd.

At Juan Fernandez the *Centurion* was joined by the little sloop *Trial*. The *Pearl* and *Severn* had been compelled to put back to Brazil. The *Wager* had been wrecked off Chile; the officers and men were saved, but the crew had mutinied and gone off in the long-boat. This long-boat, wonderful to relate, had succeeded in weathering the Straits of Magellan and in sailing back to Brazil. The captain, the lieutenant, surgeon, and two midshipmen, left alone on an island off Chile, made their way, helped by kindly Indians, to the Spanish settlements. Although England was at war with Spain, and the English fleet had come to plunder the Spanish colonies, the officers were treated with the greatest courtesy. In Castro they were lodged in the Jesuit College, on the chance of being converted, but no force was put upon them. They were left at liberty, on parole, until arrangements were made for their exchange. One of the midshipmen, the Honourable John Byron, became

grandfather of the poet Byron, and left a narrative of his adventures.

In September 1741 Anson, with the *Centurion* and the *Trial*, left Juan Fernandez. Between Valparaiso and Callao they took a Spanish merchantman, with a cargo of sugar, silver, and cloth—each useful in its own way. The Spaniards captured on board complimented the Commodore on his energy in building the *Trial* on Juan Fernandez—they never dreamed such a tiny ship could have sailed from England. Anson's next objective was the town of Paita. Lieutenant Brett, with 58 sailors in the *Centurion's* boats, landed and captured the whole town. £30,000 was taken, and the town was set on fire. All prisoners, however, were treated with kindness and civility.

Off Peru, Anson hoped to capture the 'Manilla Galleon', a great ship which came twice a year from the Philippines to exchange its merchandise for Peruvian silver. He missed it, however, and so sailed across the Pacific towards China. At the Portuguese settlement of Macao he was able to refit, and then put out again (April 1743). On June 20 the Commodore fell in with the Manilla Galleon returning with silver ore from Peru. A sharp action ensued; the British gunfire proved much superior, and the Galleon with its rich cargo was captured.

The great voyage was completed by a journey round the Cape of Good Hope. In June 1744 the Commodore cast his anchor in Spithead after an absence of three years nine months. He had shown the power of Britain on the sea, having sailed through the Spanish waters and hit hard at the Spanish power. His chaplain has left a narrative of the great voyage, which is also admirably described in Lord Mahon's splendid *History of England*. Anson continued to serve with distinction in the Navy, and was later raised to the peerage. As First Sea Lord he did much for the efficient administration of the service. Unfortunately he died, like Nelson, without leaving any son to follow in his steps.

The attack on Porto Bello (1740). A fleet also went out under Admiral Vernon, and attacked and took Porto Bello. This was the expedition in which the novelist Smollett served, and from which he got his material for depicting life on board H.M.S. *Galloper*. Porto Bello was captured, and the event inspired an otherwise undistinguished writer to produce one of the finest ballads in the English language. This man was

RUDYERD'S EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE, built in 1708

Richard Glover, a public-spirited London merchant, with the tastes of a scholar and man of letters. In 1726, when there was friction between the Governments of England and Spain, Admiral Hosier, a stalwart sailor of the type of Benbow, had been sent to blockade the Spanish ports in the West Indies and South America. His orders, however, forbade him to fight. Cruising off unhealthy coasts the ships' companies suffered terribly from fever and scurvy. Inaction and the sight of his gallant men dying broke the Admiral's heart.

When Vernon took Porto Bello in 1740, Glover imagined Hosier and his ghostly crews coming up from the waves to congratulate the lucky victor :

As near Porto-Bello lying
On the gently swelling flood,
At midnight with streamers flying
Our triumphant navy rode ;
There while Vernon sate all-glorious
From the Spaniards' late defeat ;
And his crews, with shouts victorious,
Drank success to England's fleet :

On a sudden shrilly sounding,
Hideous yells and shrieks were heard ;
Then each heart with fear confounding,
A sad troop of ghosts appear'd,
All in dreary hammocks shrouded,
Which for winding sheets they wore,
And with looks by sorrow clouded
Frowning on that hostile shore.

On them gleamed the moon's wan lustre,
When the shade of Hosier brave
His pale bands were seen to muster
Rising from their watry grave.
O'er the glimmering wave he hy'd him,
Where the *Burford*[1] rear'd her sail,
With three thousand ghosts beside him
And in groans did Vernon hail.

Heed, oh heed our fatal story,
I am Hosier's injur'd ghost ;
You who now have purchas'd glory
At this place where I was lost !
Tho' in Porto-Bello's ruin
You now triumph free from fears,
When you think on our undoing
You will mix your joy with tears.

See these mournful spectres sweeping
Ghastly o'er this hated wave,
Whose wan cheeks are stain'd with weeping ;
These were English captains brave.

[1] Admiral Vernon's ship.

Mark those numbers pale and horrid,
Those were once my sailors bold:
Lo, each hangs his drooping forehead
While his dismal tale is told.

I, by twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish town affright;
Nothing then its wealth defended
But my orders not to fight.
Oh! that in this rolling ocean
I had cast them with disdain
And obey'd my heart's warm motion
To have quell'd the pride of Spain!

For resistance I could fear none,
But with twenty ships had done
What thou, brave and happy Vernon,
Hast achiev'd with six alone.
Then the bastimentos never
Had our foul dishonour seen,
Nor the sea the sad receiver
Of this gallant train had been.

Hence with all my train attending
From their oozy tombs below,
Thro' the hoary foam ascending,
Here I feed my constant woe.
Here the bastimentos viewing,
We recall our shameful doom,
And our plaintive cries renewing
Wander thro' the midnight gloom.

O'er these waves for ever mourning
Shall we roam deprived of rest,
If to Britain's shores returning
You neglect my just request;
After the proud foe subduing,
When your patriot friends you see,
Think on vengeance for my ruin,
And for England sham'd in me.[1]

End of Walpole's ministry. After Porto Bello, Cartagena was attacked by Vernon, without success; and so the

[1] *The Percy Reliques*, XXV, 'Admiral Hosier's Ghost'.

expedition was half a failure. The Opposition in the House of Commons grew stronger. In those days, when an election was disputed for having been conducted with some legal informality or with bribery, the case was not tried before judges, as at the present day. It was argued out on the floor of the House of Commons, and was decided by a party vote. The Opposition disputed the validity of the election of a Government candidate for the borough of Chippenham. They outvoted the Government on this point (January 28, 1742), and Walpole resigned. This was the most critical act of his life. All his time in office he had been a *peace-minister*. At the last he had been compelled to undertake a war against Spain, but it was a limited, naval war only. When he found the struggle spreading, and involving the great military Powers of the Continent of Europe, he had to choose once and for all—to become definitely a war-minister at the head of a great war-Government, or to resign. He choose the latter course. Only George II, who had learned to value the great minister, showed any sorrow. In February Walpole was raised to the peerage as Earl of Orford.

He took his defeat philosophically, was gratified with his peerage and pension of £4,000 a year, kept up a lively interest in politics, and went on with his magnificent collection of old pictures at Houghton. The greater part of this collection is now to be seen, not at Houghton, but in the Hermitage Gallery at Petrograd.

The War of the Austrian Succession. The predictions of the great minister were all coming true. The war was dragging on, wasting England's resources equally with Spain's. Taxation was bound to increase, and, with taxation, discontent with the Hanoverian rule was sure to arise. The Jacobite party, so long laid low, could raise its head, and avail itself of this feeling of dissatisfaction to attempt a revolution. Moreover, the war abroad had spread farther. In October 1740 the Emperor Charles VI, the head of the Germanic Confederation, died. He left his Austrian dominions to his

daughter, the proud and spirited Maria Theresa. France, Prussia, and Great Britain had agreed to the law which Charles had made (called the Pragmatic Sanction), leaving all his territories undivided to his daughter. Among the territories was the fine province of Silesia, through which flow the upper waters of the river Oder. Frederick II of Prussia, although his State had, under his father, been one of the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction, invaded Silesia (December 1740), to seize it from Austria. This act produced the War of the Austrian Succession. The war ultimately resulted in the annexation of Silesia to Prussia. France took the side of Prussia, England adhered to the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and honoured the memory of the defunct Charles VI, who as the 'Archduke Charles' had been the Allied candidate for the throne of Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Spain, in the present war, was under the 'Family Compact' (p. 454) on the same side as France. Thus Prussia, Spain, and France were arrayed against Holland, Austria, and England. It was the second time (the first time was 1702–13) that England went to war in the eighteenth century in defence of a treaty. The 'War of Jenkins's Ear', with its issues left unsettled, merged into the War of the Austrian Succession. A conflagration abroad, with rebellion at home, was what Walpole's successors in office had to face.

The operations of the Austrian Succession War. Although George II concluded a treaty of neutrality for one year for his German Electorate, Hanover (which was exposed to the danger of a French invasion), he himself was ardent in his desire to help Austria. In this he was supported by the leader of the new Government, Lord Carteret, a man of brilliant parts but convivial habits, who (according to Horace Walpole) boasted that it was not his affair to make judges and bishops; 'it is my business', he said, 'to make Kings and Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe'.

The British Fleet was employed to secure the neutrality of Naples, at that time under Don Carlos, a son of the King of

Spain. Commodore Martin brought his ships into the Bay of Naples. Negotiations between the Neapolitan ministers and the English sailor were conducted in the flagship. The ministers began to make difficulties. Commodore Martin laid his watch upon the cabin table, and gave the Neapolitans one hour in which to make up their minds, before the bombardment should begin. This method of sea diplomacy proved effective. The Government of Naples signed a convention of neutrality (1742).

Dettingen. Up to the end of 1742 the war on the Continent had gone against Austria. Frederick of Prussia overran Silesia, and then threw over his alliance with the French, and made peace (annexing Silesia) with the Austrians (June 1742). In the summer of 1743 an army of about 40,000 British and hired Hanoverian troops entered Germany, to drive the French out of the Rhineland. They were at first under Lord Stair, but when they reached Dettingen, on the river Main (June 1743), George II joined them, and took over the command. On June 27 the British met the French army, which was in considerably superior numbers. King George, who was then in his sixtieth year, dismounted from his horse, and marched at the head of his troops to the attack. He waved his sword, and called, 'Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire and behave bravely, and the French will soon run'; and so he advanced against the French. His younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, commanding the left, likewise led the attack in person, and exposed himself where the fighting was hottest. The King and his men reached the French lines and broke them. Fighting fiercely, the French were forced to retreat, and, before the day was over, the retreat had been turned into a rout.

Fontenoy (May 11, 1745). The French were cleared out of South Germany, but in 1745 they invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), and threatened to invade England. The young Duke of Cumberland led an Anglo-Dutch army against the French forces, which were under Marshal Saxe.

Cumberland was a good soldier, keen in his profession, hard-working, courageous. The Duke, however, was not the equal of the experienced Marshal Saxe, who had, indeed, something of a genius for warfare. The two armies met at Fontenoy, the French being strongly posted, with only a small gap offering an opening between the village and the wood of Barré on their left. The attack of the Dutch troops failed. The Duke, to retrieve the day, led a solid column of 10,000 men against the gap. This attack is finely described by the historian of the British army :

Forward tramped the ranks of scarlet, silent and stately as if on parade. Full half a mile of ground was to be traversed before they could close with the invisible enemy that awaited them in the entrenchments over the crest of the slope, and the way was marked clearly by the red flashes and puffs of white smoke that leaped from Fontenoy and the Redoubt d'Eu on either flank. The shot plunged fiercely and more fiercely into the serried lines as they advanced into that murderous cross-fire, but the gaping ranks were quietly closed, the perfect order was never lost, the stately step was never hurried. Only the Hanoverians in the second line, finding that they were cramped for space, dropped back quietly and decorously, and marched on in third line behind the British. Silent and inexorable the scarlet lines strode on. They came abreast of village and redoubt, and the shot which had hitherto swept away files now swept away ranks. Then the first line passed beyond redoubt and village and the French cannon took it in reverse. The gaps grew wider and more frequent, the front grew narrower as the men closed up ; but still the proud battalions advanced, strewing the sward behind them with scarlet, like some mass of red blossom that floats down a lazy stream and sheds its petals as it goes.' [1]

The heroic advance of the British column had all but won the day. An advance by the Dutch would have completed the success. But the Dutch, though at hand and in good condition, remained immobile. Marshal Saxe made his last effort ; he launched the Irish Brigade (Irish regiments in the French service) against the flank of the decimated British column, and

[1] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Bk. VII, ch. v.

brought up more artillery against its front. Exhausted, unsupported—shattered by artillery fire, assailed by the impetuous Irish—the column stopped and wavered; then steadily wheeled and, protected by rear-guards, marched slowly out of range.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Further warfare on land was almost completely stopped, so far as England was concerned, by a new Jacobite Rebellion, which occurred in the same year as the battle of Fontenoy. At sea, in a large number of minor actions, the British Navy gained a complete ascendancy. Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island was captured, and Canada itself could have been invaded. In India, however, the French had taken Madras from the British; on the Continent of Europe they held most of the Austrian Netherlands. With matters so nicely balanced, further warfare seemed useless. In October 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded. France and England restored what they had taken from each other. The Austrian Netherlands were returned to Austria, but Frederick II of Prussia retained Silesia. The commercial relations of England and Spain were put upon the same footing as they had stood before 1739.

Thus the treaty at the end of the war merely restored the same unsatisfactory state of affairs that had caused the war. Nothing was really settled. England still objected to the Spanish trading restrictions; Austria desired to get back Silesia, the colonial question between France and England had been brought forward, and then ignored. If the war was worth fighting at all, it was worth finishing off with a settlement more likely to prove durable. As matters stood after 1748, the peace only proved to be a breathing-space before the renewal of the contest on a more momentous scale.

The Young Pretender. Prince Charles Edward Stuart, born at Rome in 1720, was the son of James the Old Pretender and his wife, the Princess Clementina Sobieski. He received a rather desultory education, but he grew up a cultivated young man, knowing French and Italian, and with a taste for music

and the fine arts. He saw a little soldiering too, and served with credit in the Spanish forces. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out, the Jacobites saw their chance, and plans were formed for raising a rebellion against the House of Hanover in England. Charles went from Rome to France to get help. Sir Horace Mann, the British Minister to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the well-known correspondent of Horace Walpole, saw Charles as the Prince was passing through Florence. 'The young man', he reported, 'is above the middle height and very thin.' He had a long, pale face, and large blue eyes. There was certainly something very striking about him, as there was about all the Stuarts. He was courageous and dignified, inspiring respect and interest in all who met him.

Charles's design was to get a French fleet and army, and to make a descent upon the shores of Britain. The French Government, however, knew the impossibility of such an enterprise in face of the British fleet; so in 1745 Charles had to set forth practically unsupported. On July 13, with a few friends, he set sail from the island of Belleisle, near the mouth of the Loire, in the *Doutelle* (also called the *Du Teillay*), a small ship which he had secretly hired. On July 23, having evaded the British naval patrols, he landed in the Hebrides. From here Charles proceeded to Moidart, in the country of the Macdonalds, on the west coast of Inverness-shire. The raising of the Standard took place on August 19, 1745, at Glenfinnan.

The Highland chiefs were by no means enthusiastic for the enterprise. The Hanoverian Government was strong, and, although it interfered little in the Highlands, Marshal Wade had made some good military roads, which laid the country open to the red-coats, if necessary. The fact that the Hanoverian Government had left the Highland chiefs so much to themselves made them unwilling to upset such a satisfactory state of affairs. Nevertheless, they rallied to the call of the House of Stuart. They had never forgotten how the

great Marquis of Montrose (p. 355) had trained Highlanders to meet and overcome the disciplined soldiers of the south. The great chiefs, Macdonell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, brought their clansmen to join Charles's host. All told, this host was only a few thousands strong, yet Charles never hesitated to pursue his great venture.

On September 4 he entered Perth. From there the march to Edinburgh was unopposed, except by a few companies of dragoons, whom the Highlanders easily put to flight, outside the city. Edinburgh itself was entered, although the castle held out for King George. Charles held a court at Holyrood Palace. The sojourn of the chiefs and clansmen in Edinburgh is described with splendid humour and imagination in Scott's novel *Waverley*.

The bulk of the British regular forces were in Flanders with the Duke of Cumberland, and had to be brought back in haste. At Prestonpans, east of Edinburgh, the regular forces under Sir John Cope were met and defeated. Charles, however, did not follow up his victory, but delayed at Edinburgh for another month. Before recommencing his march south, Charles, in the name of his father, 'James III', issued a proclamation in Edinburgh (October 1745), dealing with the old difficulty of religion, for both his father and himself were Papists :

'Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threat of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth. I with my own money hired a vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland attended by seven persons; I publish the King my Father's declaration and proclaim his title with pardon in one hand and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall

propose for the happiness of the people. . . . The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies being called over to protect his government against the King's subjects, is it not high time for the King my Father to accept also of assistance? Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers—he who, with the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder, or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for so many years? Let him if he pleases try the experiment: let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put all upon the issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the King my father's subjects.' [1]

It was quite true, as Charles said, that the cause of George II, like his wars abroad, required Dutch, German, and other mercenaries. The English people did not personally wish to fight against Charles; but they certainly did not wish to fight for him. And this is true of the Scots also, of whom there were seldom more than 6,000 found at any time in his army. It was really only a 'raid' into a torpid country that Charles led, and it had no chance of success.

The Highland host marched south by Kelso, and by way of Liddesdale entered Cumberland (November 8, 1745). The town of Carlisle surrendered, almost without a blow. Then the march proceeded. At first Charles drove in a carriage, but as the hardships increased, and supplies became more difficult to procure, he insisted upon sharing the privations of his followers. Clad in plaid and kilt, bearing his claymore and target, he marched at the head of the army, and showed the same endurance as the hardy clansmen. Rising at four in the morning, he marched all day without stopping for a regular meal. In the evening he ate a hearty supper, and then lay down in his clothes.

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xxviii.

Preston, Wigan, and Manchester were next reached in turn. On December 4 (1745) Derby was reached. When the news reached London, on December 6, 'Black Friday', despair for a time seemed to possess the people. The Government was still largely unprepared; the troops ordered to Finchley Common had not been mobilized. The shops were shut; the Bank of England had to pay over the counter in sixpences, to avoid being 'broken'.

Nevertheless, on the same day, December 6, Charles began his retreat. Lord Mahon, the eminent historian of the eighteenth century, states as his solemn belief that 'had Charles marched onward from Derby, he would have gained the British throne'. He adds, however, that Charles would not long have held it. The second statement is certainly true, the first is doubtful. Charles himself was anxious to go on. His councillors dissuaded him. The great march had shown that, heroic as his qualities were, his cause excited no enthusiasm. Six or seven thousand men, with little ammunition, no money, no supplies, could not long avoid destruction from the armies of Marshal Wade and the Duke of Cumberland, which were converging upon them. As the Highlanders advanced, they must have taken more and more to plunder; and this would have raised the whole country against them. A 'raid' like Charles's was only justified as a practical scheme if it met with a ready response among the people to whom it came. No such response was elicited by the Highland host in 1745. Its retreat was inevitable, and, with its retreat, its destruction.

In the long march back to the Highlands, ruin was only deferred by the skill of Lord George Murray, Charles's most able officer. Glasgow, Stirling, and Falkirk were on the route followed. At Falkirk on January 17, 1746, the Highlanders dispersed the forces (about 8,000 men) of the brutal soldier, General Hawley. The end was only postponed, however. It is difficult to see why, once in the Highlands, the host was kept together at all. Quarrels were now common among

the chiefs, and each blamed the other for the hopeless result. On April 16, 1746, Charles and his small army met the Duke of Cumberland with the red-coats on Culloden Moor, near Inverness. The heroism of the Highlanders could not prevent the destruction of their force.

The cruel treatment of the vanquished has stained the Duke of Cumberland's name. Inverness-shire and the Western Highlands were given over to be ravaged by the soldiery. Luckily, the wildness and inaccessibility of the country saved many of the people. Charles wandered from April till September among the faithful clansmen, although the British Government offered £30,000 for his capture. It was a greater sum of money than had ever been seen in the Highlands. He was tracked to the small island of South Uist, and was only saved by Miss Flora Macdonald, who took him to Skye in a small boat, disguised as her female attendant. Miss Macdonald was arrested later, but after a year obtained release, and married Alan Macdonald of Kingsburgh.

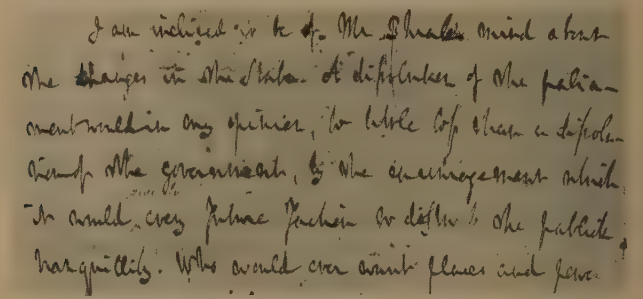
Dr. Johnson visited her at Kingsburgh in 1773. The meeting is described by Boswell in the *Tour to the Hebrides*.

'I was highly pleased to see Dr. Johnson safely arrived at Kingsburgh, and received by the hospitable Mr. Macdonald, who, with a most respectful attention, supported him into the house. Kingsburgh was completely the figure of a gallant Highlander,—exhibiting "the graceful mien and manly looks", which our popular Scotch song has justly attributed to that character. He had his Tartan plaid thrown about him, a large blue bonnet with a knot of black ribband like a cockade, a brown short coat of a kind of duffil, a Tartan waistcoat with gold buttons and gold button-holes, a bluish philibeg, and Tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large stately man, with a steady sensible countenance.

'There was a comfortable parlour with a good fire, and a dram went round. By and by supper was served, at which there appeared the lady of the house, the celebrated Miss Flora Macdonald. She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Flora Macdonald in the isle of Skye, was a striking sight;

for though somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here.'[1]

Macdonald and Flora went to North Carolina in 1773, and settled there. He fought for King George in the American War of Independence. At the end of the war they returned to Scotland. Flora Macdonald died in 1790. She had five sons and two daughters. Two of the sons became naval officers, and died at sea. Another became a distinguished soldier and man of science.



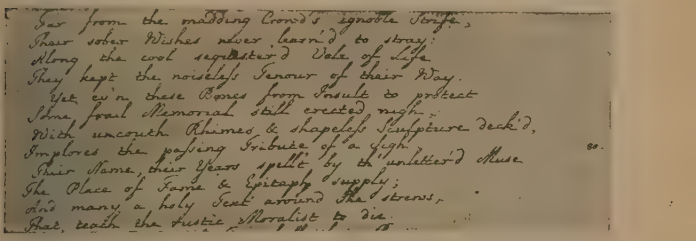
LETTER OF DR. JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE, July 6, 1775[2]

Prince Charles, after escaping to France, lived first at Avignon, then secretly in Paris, for the French Government could not officially support him. The fine young man who had borne every misfortune cheerfully in his great adventure became a hopeless drunkard in exile. After the death of his father in 1766, he resided in Rome. In 1772 he married Louisa, Princess of Stolberg, but the union was unhappy. They had no children, and separated five years later. Charles's brother Henry was a Catholic priest, and is known in history

[1] Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 184 (ed. Birkbeck Hill).

[2] 'I am inclined to be of Mr. Thrale's mind about the changes in the State. A dissolution of the Parliament would in my opinion, be little less than a dissolution of the Government, by the encouragement which it would give to every future faction to disturb the publick tranquillity. Who would ever want places and power. . .'

as the Cardinal of York. He was a man of good sense and judgement. The last years of Charles's life were mostly spent at Florence, where his illegitimate daughter kept house for him. He died at Rome on January 31, 1788, and is buried in St. Peter's, where a beautiful monument by Canova commemorates 'James III, Charles III, and Henry IX'. The monument and inscription are both due to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. His father had for years paid a pension to the Cardinal of York. When the Hanoverians



FACSIMILE of lines 73–84 of the MS. of Gray's *Elegy* at Pembroke College, Cambridge

could be so generous to their rivals, it was clear that the Jacobite party was dead.

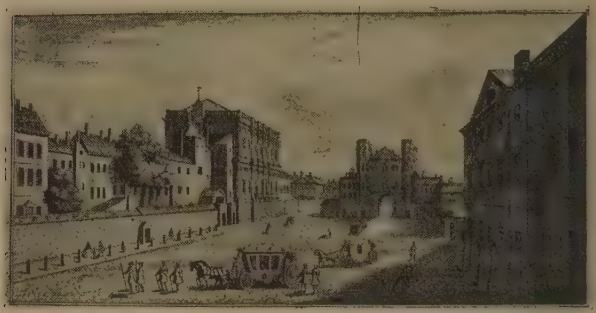
CHAPTER XXII

CHATHAM

Early career. William Pitt was born on November 15, 1708, in the city of Westminster. His father was Robert Pitt of Boconnoc in Cornwall; his grandfather was Thomas Pitt, at one time an East India merchant, and subsequently Governor of Madras. Governor Pitt bought a diamond in India for £20,000. In 1717 he sold it to the Duke of Orleans for £125,000, and it became one of the famous heirlooms of the French royal family. William Pitt, the grandson, was only the younger son of a man of small landed property. He was

educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford, and acquired a wide knowledge of the classics, if nothing else. From his boyhood he had a tendency to gout, and this may have inclined him to study, rather than to the more active pursuits of youth. He was a great reader of Demosthenes and Bolingbroke, and modelled his style of oratory on their works.

His choice of profession was the Army. In 1731 he became a cornet in the Blues, Lord Cobham's Regiment, now known as the Royal Horse Guards. A cornet was standard-bearer



WHITEHALL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

in a troop of horse. The young officer's private means were £100 a year. With the military life he soon combined the parliamentary, as officers resident in London are still able to do. In 1735 he was returned to the House of Commons as burgess for Old Sarum, a borough which Governor Pitt had purchased, and which had been in the family ever since. William Pitt at once sided with the opposition to Walpole, and soon showed his power of speaking. 'We must muzzle this terrible cornet of horse,' said Walpole. The King was offended by Pitt's attitude towards the royal family at this time; accordingly, the young M.P. was relieved of his commission in the Army. He obtained a position in the household of

Frederick, Prince of Wales, who always supported the opposition against his father the King. In 1739 Pitt made a great speech (*supra*, p. 456) in the House of Commons against the Convention of the Pardo, by which Walpole hoped to avoid war with Spain.

During the War of the Austrian Succession Pitt was not in office. He made himself conspicuous by denouncing the policy of subsidizing foreign States for military purposes. He objected especially to English money being used to pay Hanoverian troops. Great Britain, he said, was being considered 'only as a province to a despicable electorate' (1742). George II naturally resented this attitude. Pitt, however, was rapidly becoming one of the most popular men in the country; therefore, at last, in 1746, the King was obliged to yield, and to allow him to become Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in the ministry of which Henry Pelham, the younger brother of the Duke of Newcastle, was Premier. Pitt whole-heartedly supported the policy of the Government, Hanoverian subsidies and all. He held minor office till 1756, sitting in the House of Commons for Seaford, and then for the 'pocket' borough of Aldeburgh.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

When Henry Pelham died in 1754, the Duke of Newcastle became Premier. In 1755 Pitt was dismissed from office for once again denouncing the subsidies given to Hanover. War between France and Great Britain was now going on. Pitt supported the Government in their policy of strengthening the Navy and Army but criticized them for their mistakes—like

the loss of Minorca, or the defeat of Braddock—most unmercifully. In 1756 his popularity in the country was higher than ever. The war was going badly. The Government seemed not to know what to do. The Duke of Newcastle persuaded the King to pocket his pride and to offer the position of Secretary of State to Pitt. Pitt accepted it, and became virtually Prime Minister (December 1756). On April 9, 1757, the King dismissed him again, and for eleven weeks there was no Ministry at all; the administration of the country was carried on by the permanent civil servants. In June the King had to invite Pitt to come back to office. He became Secretary of State on the understanding that he should direct foreign affairs and the war. The Duke of Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury. This was an excellent combination. Pitt had the genius for carrying the nation through a crisis, for rousing enthusiasm, for conceiving great plans. Newcastle, on the other hand, was a party politician, an unsurpassed manager of the House of Commons. Newcastle was a better man than he has been painted. He was shrewd and disinterested; if he gave pensions and sinecures to men to secure their support, he made nothing for himself, and left office in 1762 poorer than he had entered upon it.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (p. 468) had satisfied few of the States which made it. Austria wanted to get back Silesia; the English people felt they had made little headway in the New World, and in the Indies. The splendid empire which Champlain and La Salle had founded for France in the early seventeenth century was steadily expanding and closing round the British settlements in New England. In Louisiana and Canada—on the Mississippi, the Ohio, the St. Lawrence—French power was supreme; the New England Colonies could not expand westward of the Alleghany Mountains; indeed they might not be able to maintain their independence against the French. In India, where the French and English had commercial 'factories' and forts, collisions were frequent between the

representatives of the two nations. Thus both in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres little was needed to start a general conflagration[1].

In 1756 occurred the well-known 'Diplomatic Revolution'. Austria and France, enemies for the last 250 years, agreed to become allies. Austria's object was to recover Silesia from Frederick II of Prussia; France's object was to gain a strong military ally, who could help to check England and her allies in any operations in Europe. The English Government (this was just before Pitt joined it as Secretary of State) had already concluded a treaty of alliance with Prussia (Treaty of Westminster, January 16, 1756). The news of this was sufficient to bring the hesitating French and Austrian Governments together, and on May 1, 1756, they concluded the Treaty of Versailles. Thus the Diplomatic Revolution was completed. Austria and France, enemies in the War of the Austrian Succession, were allies; so were England and Prussia.

British Defeats. In July 1755 General Braddock was ambushed and defeated on an expedition against Fort Duquesne, the French fort on the Ohio river in North America (see p. 494). In May 1756 a French fleet from Toulon landed 16,000 men in the island of Minorca, which had been in British possession since the Treaty of Utrecht. The design of the French had been known for some time in England, and the Government sent Admiral John Byng, with ten warships, to the Mediterranean. John Byng was a son of Admiral George Byng, who had won the battle of Cape Passaro (p. 442). When he arrived off Port Mahon, in Minorca, he found the French already landed and their fleet at anchor. After fighting an indecisive action, Byng resolved to leave Minorca to its fate. His ships were about equal in number to the French, but somewhat lighter in guns. His retirement made the capitulation of the Governor of Minorca inevitable. On

[1] See pp. 491–507 and pp. 623–630 for more detailed descriptions of Canadian and Indian affairs.

his return, Byng was tried by court-martial at Portsmouth, and convicted under the Article of War concerning officers guilty of 'cowardice, negligence, or disaffection'. From the first and last offences—cowardice and disaffection—the court explicitly exonerated the Admiral; of negligence they could not acquit him. The penalty prescribed under this Article was death. The Admiral, who showed perfect calmness and dignity, was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, on March 14, 1757

The influence of Pitt. The war was clearly going badly when the great period of Pitt commenced, in June 1757—the famous coalition with the Duke of Newcastle. Braddock had been killed, and his expedition ruined; Minorca had been lost; the French in India had roused the Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, against the British. Surajah Dowlah had captured Calcutta and perpetrated the crime associated with the name 'Black Hole' (June 1756). Finally, on July 26, 1757, the Duke of Cumberland, who was charged with the duty of protecting Hanover, was beaten at Hastenbeck, though not seriously.

Pitt had begun his coalition ministry with the Duke of Newcastle less than a month previously (June 29, 1757). Some little time was required for him to make his influence felt. 'I am sure that I can save this country, and nobody else can,' he is reported (by Horace Walpole) to have said. Every one yielded to the magic of his enthusiasm. He came to power over a dispirited, unsuccessful people. He did not point out their defects and enlarge upon their difficulties; he spoke always as if the English were the greatest and happiest nation in the world, and he made them act as such. No one, it was said, ever left his room without feeling a braver man than when he entered it. He had a genius for choosing the right men; he inspired confidence in all. Thus Frederick II of Prussia, one of the greatest generals of the age, trusted him. The Navy and Army trusted him. His plans were carried out with enthusiasm. 'We are forced to ask every morning',

writes Horace Walpole in the 'wonderful year' 1759, 'what victory there has been, for fear of missing one.' So great is the force of genius, of the elusive quality called greatness. It consists not merely in skill, judgement, industry (Pitt had these qualities), but in the faculty of success—of inspiring men in such a way that they achieve what seems impossible.

Pitt's war policy. Pitt's method of conducting war with the French was to use the Navy to cut them off from their colonies. If this was accomplished, the French colonies would sooner or later fall before the English arms. It was necessary, however, to do some fighting in Europe, in order to protect Hanover and to exhaust France's military strength. For these reasons the Government had entered into alliance with Frederick II of Prussia (p. 479). Pitt adopted the subsidizing policy, which he had formerly opposed so strenuously. He paid King Frederick about £700,000 a year; without this money, Prussia (a very poor State in those days) could not have carried on the struggle against the combined forces of Austria and France. A British army was sent to Germany—about 20,000 well-trained troops. They were put under an able German general, Ferdinand of Brunswick, a relative of King George II.

The command of the sea. The policy of the Admiralty during the ministry of Pitt was masterly. France has only two really good ports, Brest on the Brittany coast and Toulon in the Mediterranean. Britain, on the other hand, is splendidly provided with natural harbours, which could take any size of ship then afloat. The south coast of England has a number of fine ports for instance, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portsmouth. At the entrance to the Mediterranean, Great Britain holds, as she held in the eighteenth century, the harbour and fort of Gibraltar. In the Seven Years' War (1756–63) the Admiralty used these ports as a base for a policy of blockade against France. An English squadron was generally cruising in the neighbourhood of Brest, or in the neighbourhood of Toulon. If the west wind (a very common wind) was blowing, the French fleet could not easily sail out

of Brest, and likewise there were difficulties in leaving Toulon. The British crews, constantly at sea in all sorts of foul weather, off Brest or Toulon, grew ever more hardened and expert. The French crews and ships, confined by the blockade to port, deteriorated in spirit and in quality. The French were brave sailors, but they acquired less experience at sea, and became less dashing and venturesome.

Their theory of naval strategy was different from that of the English. The French used their Navy for protective purposes. Its chief business was to convoy merchantmen, so as to save them from the British cruisers, or to protect the islands and colonies of France in the New World. This policy was reasonable, but it imposed an attitude of caution upon the French naval officers. They had always to consider whether, by risking an engagement, they were endangering the colonies which they were protecting. Their first object was always to keep their fleet 'in being', so as to be able to use it to protect the French empire. This defensive policy prevented the French, so dashing on land, from becoming dashing at sea.

The officers of the British Navy, on the other hand, had always been taught that their simple duty was to find out the enemy's fleet and to sink it. If they sunk the enemy's fleet, then, no matter what their own losses were, the command of the sea would remain with England. Even if the losses on each side were 'a ship for a ship', England, being more of a naval than a military power, could replace her losses more quickly than France, and so would have the preponderance.

The effect of this policy on the British officers and men is noticeable all through the glorious history of the Navy. As their sole duty was to seek out the enemy's fleet and sink it, they became more and more enterprising and bold. To attack became their habit; they did not consider whether it was their duty to cover this or that island, to keep their fleet in being: they considered one problem only—namely, could they attack the enemy with a prospect of sinking at least as many hostile ships as the enemy could sink of the English?

And as the answer was always assumed to be 'yes', it soon almost ceased to be considered. The naval officers always sought out the enemy's fleet and attacked it. Admiral Byng off Minorca did not make an 'error of judgement', as Macaulay says: he did worse, he neglected his instructions and abandoned the policy of fighting the hostile ships at all cost.

Thus the British Navy was always at sea, always looking out for a chance to attack. It had one other great advantage.

GIBRALTAR

France, being washed by two seas, had to divide her naval power between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, between Brest and Toulon. The British fleet, cruising between Plymouth and Gibraltar, had always a good chance, if either the Brest or Toulon fleet evaded the blockade, of catching it before it could join with the other. The battles of Quiberon Bay and Lagos are instances in point.

Lagos. Admiral Edward Boscawen was the third son of the second Viscount Falmouth. The Boscawens of Boscawen Ros were a very ancient Cornish family. Edward was born in 1711. At the age of 14 he entered the Navy, and sailed in the *Superbe*, 60 guns, to the West Indies with Admiral Hosier, in

1726. Luckily for England, young Boscawen did not become one of the ghosts that figure in Glover's noble ballad (p. 462); instead, he was serving on Admiral Vernon's flagship when Porto Bello was taken, in 1740. From this time Boscawen saw almost continuous active service in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. In 1758 he was admiral of the Blue and commander-in-chief of the fleet in the operations off Louisburg (p. 496). In 1759 he was given command of the squadron in the Mediterranean.

For a time he blockaded the Toulon fleet. Deeming it better, however, to destroy this fleet than to imprison it, he retired to Gibraltar. He knew that the French would sail for Brest, to take part in an invasion of England, which was being prepared in the north of France. On August 17, 1759, a scouting frigate reported to Boscawen that the Toulon fleet was in sight. The admiral at once put to sea, and on the 18th came into touch with the French fleet. The British had 14 ships, the French 12, but these were more heavily armed. Five French ships became separated by some mistake, and Boscawen, in a stiff fight which lasted from half-past one to half-past four in the afternoon, dispersed the enemy. They were chased into Lagos Bay. Only two of the French admiral's seven great ships escaped.[1]

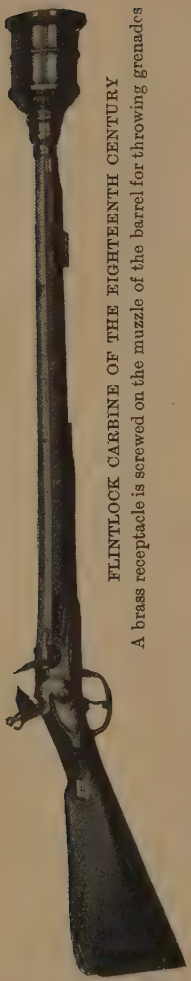
Quiberon Bay. Edward Lord Hawke was the only son of a London barrister, and was born in 1705. The Hawkes, like the Boscawens, were an old, though not wealthy, Cornish family. Young Edward must have had a great love for the sea, for he volunteered in 1719 as a seaman for service in the West Indian waters, and served for five years. On his return home, he soon tired of life on land, and again joined the Navy as

[1] Boscawen continued to serve in the war till 1761, when he died of typhoid fever at Hatchlands Park, in Surrey—a house which he is said to have built largely out of prize money. His sailors called him 'Old Dreadnought', because it is said that while captain of H.M.S. *Dreadnought* he was wakened one night by the officer of the watch, when the following conversation took place: 'Sir, there are two large ships, which look like Frenchmen, bearing down on us; what are we to do?' 'Do,' said the captain, running up on deck in his night-shirt, 'Do? damn 'em, fight 'em!'

a seaman. In 1729 he was made a lieutenant. Even then his promotion was not rapid. In 1735 he was commanding a ship, but after it was paid off he was four years on half-pay without employment (1735–9). The War of Jenkins's Ear gave him his chance. He was given command of a very unseaworthy ship for service in the West Indies, and he was employed till 1746; but in that year he was only saved from being retired from the service by the intervention of George II, who had a better judgement for capacity than most of his ministers. George had him promoted to be rear-admiral of the White.

In 1759 Hawke was commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the North Atlantic blockading Brest. In this work he made the blockading policy quite a science. For six months the fleet never quitted the waters outside Brest; the ships were carefully victualled, and the crews of two or three ships at a time were sent to Plymouth for a rest. When the Admiralty remonstrated with him for thus weakening his force, Hawke replied: 'It is a matter of indifference whether I fight the enemy, if they should come out, with an equal number, one ship more or less'. 'The refreshment of the ships' companies', he said, 'was more important than the ships.'

On November 9 (1759) a terrible westerly gale compelled Hawke to sail to Torbay to refit. On the 14th he heard that the French fleet had left Brest. He at once put to sea in the *Royal George*, with all his ships. On the 20th, one of the watching frigates announced that the fleet of the French admiral, Marshal de Conflans, had been sighted, and was making for Quiberon Bay, where they could station themselves behind dangerous rocks and shoals. Hawke gave chase, and, in a south-west gale, came up with and engaged Conflans's fleet before the French admiral could get into the bay. The engagement began at 2 p.m. on the 20th and went on till 5. One French ship, the *Formidable*, struck her colours; two were sunk. Next day, Conflans's flagship was forced to run ashore. Four more were wrecked. The whole French fleet



FLINTLOCK CARBINE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
A brass receptacle is screwed on the muzzle of the barrel for throwing grenades

was broken up as the result of this brilliant action in a storm. Two English ships, the *Resolute* and the *Essex*, suffered shipwreck.

The fight off Quiberon Bay, following upon that off Lagos, was the decisive battle of the war.[1] The French sea-power was practically destroyed. Boscawen, who commanded the fleet after Hawke went home for a rest, started a vegetable garden on a small island in the bay, to provide green food for the sailors. British merchantmen sailed the seas practically unmolested. Communications between France and India and Canada were broken. The fall of France's colonial empire was made inevitable by her losing command of the sea.

Minden (August 1, 1759). Pitt, in a famous sentence when speaking in the debate (1763) on the Treaty of Paris, said, 'we were winning America on the plains of Germany'. The statement was meant to emphasize the importance of the continental war. France's military strength was being exhausted on German battle-fields, while Britain was gaining the sea, and with the sea the French empire.

[1] Hawke's active career practically ended with his success at Quiberon. He was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1766 to 1771. The rest of his life was passed at Sudbury-on-Thames; he continued to take a close interest in the Navy, and helped officers with his advice. He died on October 18, 1781; his portrait may be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, which is full of precious mementoes of our great naval history.

Near the town of Minden, a detached portion of the kingdom of Prussia, the greatest British battle of the Seven Years' War was fought. A large French army, at the beginning of 1759, had come up from the Rhine (where it had occupied Frankfort), and was threatening the Electorate of Hanover. Minden was taken; the French might cross to the right bank of the Weser, and invade the Electorate, if decisive action were not taken. Ferdinand of Brunswick, whose task it was to cover Hanover, had about 41,000 British and Hanoverian troops; the French Marshal Contades had 51,000.

Contades had a strong position behind marshes near the Weser river. Ferdinand managed, by exposing a weak spot (as it appeared) in his own lines, to induce the Marshal to leave his position and to attack. The battle began at 3 o'clock on the morning of August 1, 1759. For a time the fight was fairly even, the French striving to drive the Allied troops off the field, the Allies vigorously maintaining their position. Ferdinand had a fine column, for the most part British infantry, in reserve. It contained the 12th Foot (now called the Suffolk Regiment), the 20th Foot (Lancashire Regiment), the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), the 25th Foot (King's Own Scottish Borderers), the 37th Foot (Hampshire Regiment), and the 51st Foot (King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry). Besides these, there were three regiments of Hanoverians. An aide-de-camp was sent by Ferdinand, warning them to stand ready for an advance when the rest of the army was properly formed. To the surprise and consternation of the general, the column—one solid line of scarlet—started advancing by itself. Gallopers were at once sent to stop it. For a few minutes the column halted behind a thin belt of firs. Then, as soon as it had become compact again, to the amazement of the watching staff the drums began to roll, and again the column moved forward.

Soon it was beyond all supports, and exposed to the fire of 60 powerful French cannon. Over a distance of two hundred yards it calmly advanced through a storm of shot,

the ranks steadily closing together, as men were killed or fell out wounded. Then the whole mass of French cavalry came on at the charge, but the column, remaining quiet till the horses were only ten paces off, received them with a volley, and next with the bayonet. The cavalry were beaten off.

This was the critical moment. Ferdinand sent orders to the British cavalry—twenty-four squadrons of Blues, 1st and 3rd Dragoon Guards, 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and 10th Dragoons (now 10th Hussars), under General Lord George Sackville. The order was given, but the general did not move. Once more the French cavalry charged upon the solitary British column, which met them with perfect coolness and determination, and again—this time finally—drove them off the field. Renewed orders were sent to Sackville, who refused to carry them out. By this time, however, the battle was won. The rest of the Allied infantry and the artillery had pushed forward to support the column, which had destroyed so great a part of the enemy's cavalry. The French army retreated to the defences of Minden; the line of the Weser was left intact in possession of Ferdinand, and the Electorate of Hanover was safe. The six famous regiments which composed the British column had lost 1,252 men out of 4,400.

The conduct of Lord George Sackville is inexplicable. He had shown ability and courage in his previous service. His mistake saved the French army from complete destruction, and cost him his military career. He was tried by court-martial and dismissed from the Army. Unfortunately for his country, he then went in for a political career, and rose to be Secretary-at-War during the American War of Independence.

The end of the war. On October 25, 1760, George II died. He was a strong-minded man, and stood loyally by any one to whom he had once given his confidence. He and Pitt, therefore, were in close accord during the war. The new king, George III, was of a different character, anxious above all to restore the royal authority, and to rest his power upon support

from the people, not from the great Whig families. The Seven Years' War, so far as Britain was engaged in it, was a Whig war. George III was a Tory, and the Tories had always advocated a policy of isolation, of non-interference on the Continent of Europe. Besides the war had done its work. The battle of Minden had saved Hanover; Lagos and Quiberon Bay had secured us command of the sea; the battles of Plassey (1757) and Wandiwash (1760) made the English predominant in India (pp. 628–30); and the glorious campaign of Wolfe in Quebec, in 1759 (p. 498), added Canada to the British Empire.

Accordingly, George III and his Tory advisers, especially the Scotsman, Lord Bute (who was made a Secretary of State), were ready to make peace; but Pitt was decidedly of opinion that the time for peace was not ripe. In 1761 France obtained the support of Spain, by the arrangement known as the Second Family Compact: the royal houses of Spain, Naples, and Parma (all being members of the Bourbon family) agreed to make war upon England along with France, if peace were not made before May 1762. Pitt urged that war should be at once declared on Spain. George III refused, and Pitt resigned (October 5, 1761). He was offered the position of Governor of Canada, the great country which his administration had added to the British Crown. He chose, however, to remain in political life in England.

In January 1762 his policy, after all, had to be adopted by Bute's Government. They declared war on Spain. It was, however, too late now, and Bute, having entered the Government with a view to peace, could not prosecute the war vigorously. He stopped the payment of the subsidy to Frederick of Prussia. The Duke of Newcastle now resigned, and Bute was left free to carry out the wishes of George III. Nevertheless, the last expeditions of the war—all planned by Pitt, though carried out under Bute—were not failures. The commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands station, Rear-Admiral Rodney (aged 44 at this time), captured Martinique, St. Lucia,

and Granada. Havana was taken in the same year (1762). Yet Bute had begun negotiations before the news of these conquests arrived. By thus disclosing his determination to make peace at once, Bute gave the skilful French diplomatists the means of securing better terms than the naval and military situation justified. The final treaty was signed at Paris on February 10, 1763.

The Treaty of Paris. The Treaty of Paris ended the great Seven Years' War between England and France for overseas empire. Canada was recognized as wholly within the British Empire. The only land left to France, out of her great North American empire, were the tiny islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were restored by England, to be a resting-place for French fishermen. England retained the fine West Indian islands of Tobago, Dominica, Grenada; Martinique and St. Lucia were given back to France. Minorca was restored to England, who also received Florida [1] from Spain, but both Minorca and Florida were lost by England in the American War of Independence. France got back all her Indian trading-ports, though without the right to fortify them.

The Peace of Paris was violently denounced by Pitt, who, suffering severely from gout, struggled down to the House, and spoke for three hours and twenty-six minutes. After the magnificent successes of 1759, he had hoped to leave no colonies at all to France, and to secure the English position for ever in North America and India. The Peace of Paris, it is true, made Britain the greatest colonial power of the world, but it did not leave that empire secure. In the War of American Independence, and again in the Napoleonic Wars, France and England were to contest the predominance of the New World and of India.

[1] The British Government was anxious to annex Florida, because from there the Spaniards committed hostile acts against the neighbouring British colony of Georgia. Georgia was founded in 1732 by James Oglethorpe, a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and from the very start the colonists had to fight the Spanish.

CHAPTER XXIII

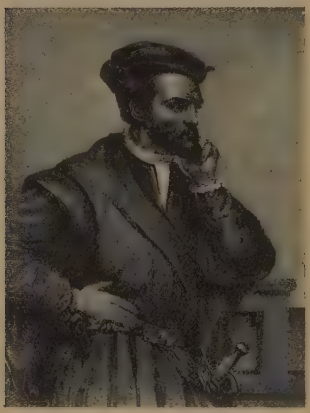
THE CONQUEST OF CANADA

Early History. The Conquest of Canada, already alluded to (p. 478) is a sufficiently important affair to merit a separate description. The Colony of Canada (an Indian name), or La Nouvelle France as the French called it, was founded as the result of voyages made in 1534 and 1535 by Jacques

Cartier, of St. Malo. A considerable number of French emigrated to New France in the seventeenth century, particularly in the reign of Louis XIV; Huguenots hoped there to escape from religious persecution, while younger sons of good Catholic families went for the sake of the good landed estates which they received from the Crown on easy terms. A kind of feudal system was established which endured to the middle of the nineteenth century, and of which traces exist at the present time.

English Possessions. The French, however, could not lay claim to the whole of the country. In 1670 Charles II granted to Prince Rupert and a Company of adventurers all the

territory watered by streams flowing into Hudson Bay. This vast tract was owned and governed by the Hudson's Bay Company till the year 1869. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the British Empire obtained another province, the French ceding Acadie or Nova Scotia, which in previous years had been the scene of many fights with the New Englanders. The first settlement in it had been made by Sir William Alexander, a Scotsman (hence the name Nova Scotia), in 1621, but the French had possession of it from the year 1632. Newfoundland, which is closely associated with Canada, was English since the early years of the seventeenth century, but was formally ceded by the same treaty (1713) to England. Cape Breton Island and Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) remained French for fifty more years.



JACQUES CARTIER
The Discoverer of Canada, 1534–5

The Ohio Scheme. Under the French rule, Canada, although it was fairly prosperous, never had a large population ; in the last years of the French period there were between 65,000 and 75,000 white inhabitants, at a time when the British North American Colonies had a combined population of two million. Yet although not strong in number, the French had spread far and wide over Canada and the territory to the west of the New England Colonies. As the English were already in possession of most of the coast, the French made settlements along the valleys of the great rivers, inland. In the reign of Louis XIV they occupied both banks of the St. Lawrence, the chief river of Canada, and held a stretch of land, 20–50 miles deep, on either side. In 1681 La Salle, having made his way

from the Great Lakes to the Ohio, sailed down the Mississippi and established French power in the large territory (on the north of the Gulf of Mexico), which became known as Louisiana. Between Louisiana and Canada the rivers provide a natural inland water-route, up the Mississippi—the largest of the North American rivers—and then up its great tributary the Ohio, and so (after some portage by land) by way of Lake

FIRST PICTURE OF NIAGARA FALLS, 1697

Erie into the valley of the St. Lawrence. If the French could occupy the chief points along this Louisiana–Canada water-route, they would shut in the British Colonies (Virginia, the New England colonies, and the rest), tap all their inland trade-routes, and prevent these from ever expanding westwards. In fact, the British North American Colonies, with a chain of French fortresses on one side, and the Atlantic on the other, would probably not be able to hold their own; the English flag would disappear from North America, or, at any rate, would never be seen to the west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The first Frenchman who, having seen this possibility, took definite steps to realize it, was the Marquis de la Galisonière, Governor of Canada from 1747 to 1749. In the latter year he sent one of his lieutenants, Celeron de Bienville, to establish posts in the Ohio valley. Celeron went down the Ohio and formally took possession of the land, by fixing tin-plates to trees, inscribed with the royal arms of France.

GENERAL BRADDOCK

Duquesne. In 1753 the Marquis Duquesne, another great French Governor, determined to complete the carrying through of the 'Ohio Scheme'. He sent out an expedition, which cut roads through the forests and built forts—rough but strong structures of logs—at important strategical points on the south side of Lake Erie and along the Ohio; the most important of these posts—Fort Duquesne—was on a narrow strip of land where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers join together and form the Ohio.

Braddock. The English were quite alive to the dangers which threatened them; and two expeditions were sent out from Virginia to capture Fort Duquesne. The first expedition was led by George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a colonel in the Virginian militia; it failed, however, and Washington himself was captured, but soon afterwards was released (1754). Next year a distinguished regular officer, Major-General Braddock, of the Coldstream Guards, led another expedition: this consisted of the 44th and 48th Foot (now the 1st Battalions of the Essex and Northampton Regiments) and 650 militiamen from New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas. George Washington was again serving (this time on the staff of the general).

On July 9, 1755, the British forces were ambushed on the Monongahela river, and forced to retreat with terrible losses. Braddock, who had led his men with the greatest bravery in the fight, died in camp a few days afterwards. The expedition is described with great spirit in Thackeray's *Virginians*.

The Acadians. In the same year the English Government expelled from Nova Scotia all the French families who would not take the oath of allegiance to King George II—an incident of which the pathos has been immortalized in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. In 1756, a state of war, which, in spite of much fighting in America, had not been declared, was formally enacted; the Seven Years' War had begun. At first things did not go well with the English, for the Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the French forces in Canada, was in every way worthy of his position, a man of the highest character and of great ability. In 1756 he captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and in 1757 took Fort William Henry, on Lake George, thirty miles south of Fort Ticonderoga. The capture of Fort William Henry is famous in the annals of colonial history, owing to the massacre of many of the men and women who were in it by Montcalm's Indian auxiliaries; the story of this has been told by Fenimore Cooper in *The Last of the Mohicans*.

Pitt. The year 1757 ended with the French being triumphant on the great rivers and lakes. Yet it was just at this time that their fortune began to decline. In June Pitt had been made Secretary of State, in the ministry of the Duke of Newcastle; and Pitt's strength of will, intellect, and imagination soon made themselves felt, even in far-away Canada. He at once saw where the critical points were, and devised a scheme to deal with them, a scheme which, if the British fleet should continue to command the sea, was sure, in the end to be successful.

There were in Canada about 20,000 French troops; of these 4,000 were regular regiments; the rest were chiefly local militia. They were not very well supplied with munitions,

and when the British fleet gained command of the sea, they could get little direct support from France. Pitt increased the British regular troops in Canada to about 20,000 men, and to command them chose General Amherst, who was forty-one years old, James Wolfe, who was brigadier under Amherst, aged thirty-one, and General Abercromby, an old soldier of great experience and skill; under Abercromby was another young brigadier, Lord Howe, aged thirty-three, one of three brothers all of whom rose to high distinction in the navy or army.

Louisbourg and Ticonderoga. The first step in the Conquest of Canada was to take Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton Island, which commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. This town, which had been captured by a New England expedition in 1745 and subsequently (much to the disgust of the New Englanders) restored to the French in 1748 (see p. 468), was now taken once for all by a combined land and sea force, in which Amherst led the army and Admiral Boscawen the fleet (June–July 1758). The fortifications were destroyed; since then the town has greatly declined, its trade passing to Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia.

In the same year, June 4, 1758, General Abercromby advancing from Albany (the capital of New York State) on the Hudson river, by way of Lake George, attacked Ticonderoga. In a skirmish during the march Lord Howe was killed, to the regret of every one, for he was considered the most promising officer in the British Army. In the attack on the Fort, which was held by Montcalm in person, Abercromby's force was repulsed and forced to retreat. The Royal Highlanders (Black Watch) lost 500 men; the fight is celebrated in a magnificent ballad by Robert Louis Stevenson. Abercromby, after his repulse did not remain idle; a brilliant success was scored in August by sending Colonel Bradstreet with 3,600 men up the Mohawk river. Bradstreet crossed Lake Ontario, and captured Fort Frontenac. This success interfered with the French communications down the Ohio,

so that General Forbes, a very capable Scottish soldier who commanded in Virginia, was able to bring up a force from the south and to take Fort Duquesne. The place was renamed Fort Pitt, and later Pittsburg.

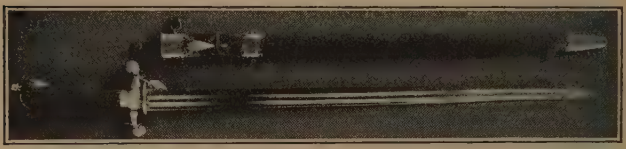
Amherst. The capture of Forts Frontenac and Duquesne in 1758 cut the St. Lawrence–Ohio line. In the two following years the work was to be completed by the expulsion of the French power from Canada. The command-in-chief of all the forces was given to Amherst, who planned three separate expeditions, each of which in the end was successful. The first, in July (1759) captured Fort Niagara, and so destroyed the last link in the St. Lawrence–Ohio line. Amherst himself led the second force, which captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point commanding Lake Champlain (August). The third expedition under Major-General Wolfe was directed against the city of Quebec itself.

Wolfe. The officer who had been specially chosen by Pitt to command the expedition against Quebec was, after Lord Howe (who fell near Ticonderoga), the most promising of the younger soldiers in the Army. He was the son of Lieutenant-General Wolfe, and was born at Westerham in Kent, on January 2, 1727. After being sent to a private school, he became an ensign in the 12th Foot (now the Suffolk Regiment) when he was fourteen years old, and next year he fought throughout the campaign of Dettingen. At the battle itself he was acting-adjutant. He next served in the Duke of Cumberland's campaign of 1745, and fought at Culloden; and at the age of 23 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the 20th Foot (Lancashire Fusiliers).

Wolfe was a man of the most attractive character. In private life he was gentle, courteous, kindly, fond of society and of sport. In his profession he was the keenest of soldiers, employing all his spare time in reading and educating himself for his duties; to this end he read greatly in mathematics, and taught himself Latin and French. He was also a great admirer of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* and of Thucydides'

works (which he read in a French translation). In 1752 he obtained leave to go to Paris for six months, to pursue his military studies. He was in fact the best type of British officer, enthusiastic for his profession, intellectual, studious, vigorous, and high-spirited. His only disadvantage lay in his weak health; when offered a command in Canada he joyfully accepted it, yet said in a letter written at the same time: 'I know the very passage threatens my life, and that my constitution must be utterly ruined and undone.' In appearance he was tall and slightly built, with red hair; contrary to the usual practice he wore no wig.

The Siege of Quebec. Quebec is situated near the junction of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, 300 miles above



SHORT SWORD WORN BY WOLFE WHEN HE FELL AT QUEBEC ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

the Gulf of St. Lawrence (i. e. from the west end of the island of Anticosti), and 180 miles below Montreal. It stands on a steep, rocky promontory at the end of a long line of cliffs which form the northern bank of the river above the city. On the opposite side of the river, which is under one mile broad here, is another high promontory, Point Levis. Just below the harbour of Quebec is the island of Orleans, on which the French had erected batteries, and which contributed to the strength of the city.

The force with which Wolfe was to attack one of the strongest places in the world, held by 16,000 men (French regular troops, Canadian militia, and Indians) under one of the ablest commanders, numbered only 9,000. The opposing leaders were finely matched; Montcalm—experienced, scientific, cool; Wolfe—enthusiastic, daring, skilful. More-

over, bad luck at first attended the British expedition ; after sailing up the St. Lawrence, some of the transports were driven ashore by a storm, on June 27 (1759). Wolfe, however, was able to occupy the island of Orleans and Point Levis, and to mount his batteries against the city.

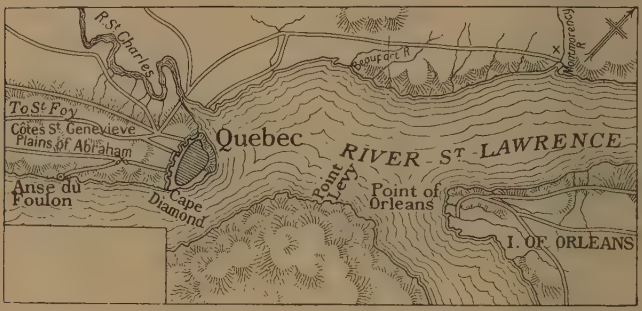
For the next two and a half months, the siege, although prosecuted with the greatest vigour, was unsuccessful, in spite of Wolfe's hold on the left bank of the river. He even established posts on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, both below and above Quebec, but the attempts to take the city itself by assault failed with great loss of life. At the end of July the English forces suffered a bloody repulse in a frontal attack on the French lines on the Mont-

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC AND DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

morency river, just below Quebec. In the middle of August Wolfe himself was prostrated by fever, and it appeared as if the whole expedition must fail ; he wrote to his mother that he would leave the Army, for he considered that his reputation was ruined and his career at an end. Yet he would not abandon the struggle till every conceivable resource had been tried. On August 29, having recovered from the fever, he held a council of war with his brigadiers. They unanimously recommended that a great effort should be made from the west side, above the city.

The Heights of Abraham. Accordingly, at the beginning of September strong detachments were sent up the river, while, to distract Montcalm's attention, minor attacks were made against Quebec itself. Wolfe, anxiously surveying

through a telescope the steep north bank of the St. Lawrence above the city, had noticed a path which ascended from a little cove, called l'Anse du Foulon, to the plateau above. At the top of the path a French picket could be seen. Wolfe calculated that a party of his men might land by night at the cove, ascend the path and surprise the picket. The way would then be clear for more troops to come up to the plateau, where they would form a line of battle. The plan was clearly most risky; it was to be carried out by night, over unfamiliar



ground; it required perfect training, organization, and discipline; the smallest mistake might ruin it.

About 2 o'clock on the morning of September 13, boatloads of soldiers (who had been concentrated upstream) were moved down the river with the ebbing tide. Before starting Wolfe issued an order:

'The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers are capable of doing against five weak battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty.'

As his boat dropped down with the tide, in the silence and solemnity of the night, he is said to have repeated the stately, moving lines of Gray's *Elegy*:

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour :
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

About 4 a.m. they came to l'Anse du Foulon, now called Wolfe's Cove, about a mile and half above the city. The first boat to ground at the shore contained twenty-four men of the 43rd Foot (Oxfordshire Light Infantry). Wolfe's boat came next. The path up the steep wooded height was

QUEBEC IN 1680

successfully scaled, and the unwary picket surprised and captured. Detachment after detachment followed ; and before six o'clock, when full daylight had come, 4,000 British soldiers were marching towards Quebec. About a mile from the city, Wolfe halted his men, and drew them up in line of battle. From their position on the Heights of Abraham, as this part of the plateau, on which Quebec stands, is called, they threatened the city, and Montcalm at last must come out and fight. For the British, victory meant Canada ; a defeat would sweep them off the cliff.

Montcalm had been out all night, for Admiral Saunders, who commanded the British ships, had been making a feint of landing in the meadows below Quebec. About 6 a.m., as

A VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

the French general was riding towards the city, he heard that the British were on the Heights of Abraham. There was no time for delay, as Wolfe might bring up guns, and make Quebec untenable. So Montcalm at once got his men together and marched forth with a force of 5,000 (the rest of his forces were left to garrison the town and to hold the Beauport lines, which Admiral Saunders was threatening to attack). No artillery or cavalry were used on either side. It was a purely infantry battle.

The fight began some time before ten o'clock. The French came on to the attack. Wolfe reserved his fire till the enemy were within forty yards; with admirable discipline the British waited for the word of command, and then discharged their pieces with deadly effect. The French line was broken and a series of charges by the British infantry completed the rout. It was when putting himself at the head of the last charge that Wolfe received a fatal wound; Montcalm too was shot, trying to get the remnant of his troops back to Quebec; he died in the city on the following morning. Wolfe died on the field of battle, having just heard that the victory was won. In his life, as in his death, he seems to anticipate the career of Nelson; like Nelson he was delicate, studious, daring, and had a rare genius; the order which he issued before the battle is like Nelson's before Trafalgar, and he died in his great victory, at one of the historic moments of the world. His body was brought back to England and buried in the vault of Greenwich Parish Church, where his father had been buried only six months earlier.

The Fall of Canada. Quebec capitulated to Wolfe's second-in-command, General Murray, on September 18. Gradually the French forces elsewhere were reduced, their position being wellnigh hopeless, as they received no reinforcements from France. In the spring of 1760 Montcalm's able lieutenant, Levis, made a determined attempt from Montreal to retake Quebec, and actually defeated General Murray at St. Foy, close to the scene of Wolfe's battle (April 27). The

English were driven back into the city, and had to remain on the defensive. On May 9 it was rumoured among both besiegers and besieged that a fleet was coming up the St. Lawrence. Both sides waited in breathless expectation; if it was a French fleet, then Quebec would fall to the French; but if it were English, the French hold upon Canada was finally doomed. As the ships rounded Point Levis, the English

flag was hoisted at the mast-heads. General Levis retired from before Quebec.

Towards the end of summer (1760) a triple advance was successfully made against the last great French city, Montreal. General Murray sailed upstream from Quebec with 24,000 men, and after fighting with the French outposts took up a position below Montreal at the end of August. Colonel Haviland (known later as the conqueror of Havana) fought his way up from Crown Point on Lake Champlain; and General Amherst himself, with Sir William Johnson, the famous governor of the Indians, sailed from Lake Ontario

down the St. Lawrence, and arrived with his force of 10,000 men in front of Montreal on September 5. There were now 17,000 of British forces around the fated city against 2,400 French troops. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the last French Governor of Canada, had no choice but to capitulate.

The Quebec Act. By the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, Canada passed from France to the British Empire. At the same time, the frontiers of Canada were defined by

royal proclamation. The territory thus incorporated in the British Empire was a strip, varying from 30 to 120 miles in breadth, along the river St. Lawrence; Montreal was the most westerly point of any importance, and all the great lakes—Huron, Erie, Superior—were left outside the British sphere.

In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed through the British Parliament. By this, the frontiers of Canada were greatly extended. In particular all the West was included—the country lying *beyond* the sources of the rivers, which, from the west or north-west, fell into the Atlantic. This extension was made by the British Government with the deliberate object

of preventing settlement in the West, and of keeping it reserved for the Indians—a policy which it was impossible to maintain in practice. Further, a great extension of the province of Quebec was made to the south, in the unappropriated territories which later formed the States of Wisconsin and Michigan. This southern extension, however, was abandoned at the Peace of Versailles in 1783, at the end of the American War of Independence.

LIFE ON THE HUDSON BAY RIVER. A DOG CARIOLE

After 1763 the conquered Canadians, who had fought bravely for France, were well treated by their new Government. The Quebec Act of 1774 secured to them freedom for their Roman Catholic worship. In the Courts of Justice, English law was made the rule for criminal cases ; the existing French law was maintained for civil cases. Under this system, the French-Canadians went on living quietly on their lands, and at the outbreak of the American War in 1775 showed no inclination to revolt.

The Hudson's Bay Company. While Great Britain owes to General Wolfe the conquest of Quebec and the valley of the St. Lawrence she already had held dominion for nearly

a hundred years over the north-west of Canada. This was owing to the work of *The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay*. This Company, which was established for trading purposes, by Royal Charter, in 1670, owned and governed all the land watered by the rivers which flowed into Hudson's Bay. It built forts, and traded its stores—food and articles of European manufacture—for the Indians' furs. As furs were the chief com-

THE GOVERNOR OF THE RED RIVER IN A LIGHT CANOE

modity of the Company, it did not encourage immigration into its territories, for immigration drives away the wild game. In other respects, the Company pursued a liberal policy: it never sold intoxicating drink, and was always trusted and well liked by the Indians. At first the French hotly disputed its claims, but at the Peace of Utrecht, at the end of the Spanish Succession War in 1713, they had to acknowledge completely the Company's rights in the north-west. For the rest of the eighteenth century there was no interruption to the development of the Fur Trade of the Hudson's Bay Company.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The ascendancy of the Crown. George III, when he became King, in 1760, was twenty-two years old. He was a thorough Englishman, proud of his country, fond of the people, good-natured, respectable, obstinate. Although the early part of his reign was a failure, and he had to pass through a period of unpopularity, he lived to be a popular figure in the country. The domestic life of the first two Georges had not been good. Neither was the life of his son, George IV. The third George was an upright man, living a simple life, not extravagant, kindly, affable. He resided a great deal at Windsor Castle, and used to walk much in the Forest and in the roads round the town. He was a familiar figure to every one for miles around, and was especially known to the schoolboys of Eton, whom he would often stop at the roadside, pat on the head, and ask kindly questions. Many stories, some true, some made up, have gathered round his personality. It is said that, walking in the grounds of Windsor Castle, he stopped to ask a gardener's boy what he earned. The boy discontentedly said : ' Meat and drink, a bed, a fire, and a roof.' ' Why, that 's all I get,' said the good-natured King, as he walked away.

Personal rule. George had studied *The Idea of a Patriot King*, by Bolingbroke, and arrived at the same theory of monarchy as Disraeli, from the same source, upheld later. George believed that the Revolution of 1688 had put the country into shackles ; through changing the dynasty the great Whig families had established their power over the Crown ; and through the ownership of parliamentary boroughs they had established their power over the people. Thus Britain had come to be ruled, it was said, by a close ' Venetian Oligarchy '.

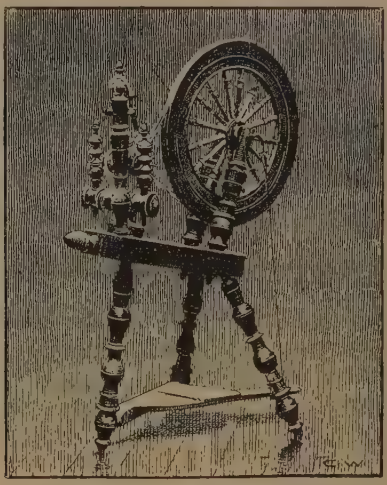
The way out of this unfree system, according to Bolingbroke

and to George III himself, was for the King to get into direct touch with the people; the prerogative of the King, the personal authority of the monarch, was to represent the people, and to oust the 'ring' of families who ruled the State. Thus, in order to give the people the power that was theirs by right over the State, the personal authority of the Crown must be restored.

Such was George's theory, and as soon as he came to the throne, he began to put it into practice. Unfortunately, the first step in the process—the assertion of the King's personal authority—could only be accomplished by breaking up that system of constitutional government which, with all its disadvantages, is the only safeguard of our liberty. To displace the 'Whig Oligarchy', George had to dismiss ministers who had the confidence of the country, and then had to use 'influence' to get a House of Commons favourable to his views. He had to form a party of 'King's Friends' in Parliament, who were pledged to vote as he wanted. Thus the people, the older members of Parliament, the Cabinet even, might have certain views on government; the King might have others; and through his 'Friends' the King might either get his own objects carried out, or the objects of the official Cabinet and party frustrated. The danger of this system of government lies in the fact that the King is legally irresponsible; ministers can be outvoted and forced to resign, but if the King is really (as George for

GEORGE III

a time was) the moving power in affairs, there is no means of making him responsible, no way of making him change his mind. This is the view put forward so clearly by Burke in his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*. George's personal intervention helped to produce the American Revolution; and if he had not at last found a minister, the

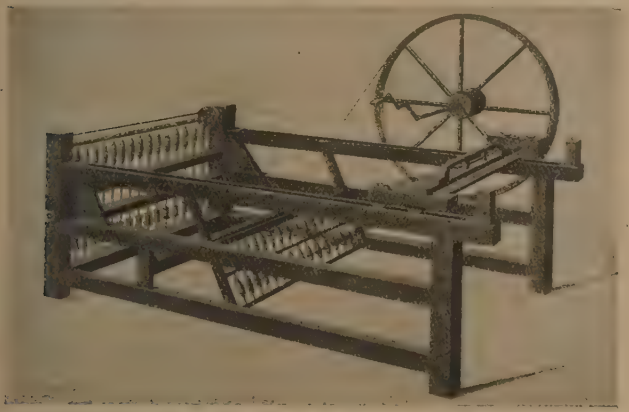


A SPINNING-WHEEL, OLD STYLE

younger Pitt, who pleased both King and country together, there would have been a revolution in England too.

The great movements. The long reign of George III, from 1760 to 1820, included some of the most momentous events in the history of the world. There was the American Revolution, which produced a powerful, free, and high-minded nation on the other side of the Atlantic. In Europe there was the French Revolution, which, slowly working out its effects, has changed the methods of government in every country; there were also the Napoleonic Wars, which neces-

sitated a new map of Europe. At home there was the great 'Industrial Revolution', the establishing of factories with steam-power which transformed England from an agricultural and trading nation into a great manufacturing one, with enormous towns and a huge industrial population. All the problems of life so prominent to-day appeared in an acute form during the Industrial Revolution—the problem of overcrowding in cities, acute discontent of labourers against



HARGREAVE'S SPINNING-JENNY, patented in 1764

employers, the rise in prices, the problem of poor relief. The union with Ireland, the first stage in the modern 'Irish Question', was accomplished in 1800. Outside the island, in the 'larger air' of the Empire, vast tracts of India were being annexed, Australia was being settled, the South African Dutch were being brought within the British rule, Canada was working out a 'way of life' between English and French.

The resurrection of the Tories. Since 1714 the Tories had been out of office, and had it not been for the genius of Bolingbroke they would not have remained a party at all. From the time of his return from exile, in 1723, till his death,

in 1751, he gave the Tories, who had no representatives in the Government, real power in the country, by his political writing. He stated the Tory views, and gave them a coherent policy, the policy of 'popular monarchy', which Disraeli eloquently preaches in his political novels.

The first step which George III had to take, in order to restore the authority of the Crown, was to displace the Whigs from power, and to raise the Tories. Yet it required ten years of struggle and intrigue (1760–70) before the King could get a Cabinet and a Parliament predominantly Tory, and under the royal influence. Then followed twelve years of unsuccessful government (1770-82); then came an interlude of Whig rule; again the Tories got into office, but it was a Government no longer subject to the King, but dependent upon a Parliament which to a considerable extent derived its authority from the people.

The period of struggle, 1760 to 1770. When, in 1761, George induced Pitt to resign office, and made Lord Bute a Secretary of State, he had got one Tory into the Ministry, one who was completely in agreement with the King (p. 489). The Duke of Newcastle, one of the most powerful Whigs in the land, resigned from office in 1762. Still the House of Commons was mainly Whig, and so, although Lord Bute was a Tory, most of the ministers were Whigs of one or other of the factions into which their party had split. Three Premiers followed in quick succession—George Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton (under whom Chatham took office)—all Whigs. At last, in 1770, with the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, the Whig party collapsed.

Lord North. The Prime Minister, the seventh in ten years, whom George now promoted, was Frederick Lord North, belonging to an old Oxfordshire family, the Norths of Wroxton Abbey, a house which they do not own, but hold as hereditary tenants from Trinity College, Oxford. North was educated at Eton, and Trinity, Oxford, travelled abroad, had a good knowledge of classical literature, and also of the French,

German, and Italian tongues. He was entirely without ambition, and simply took office in answer to an urgent appeal of the King.

'Jan. 23, 1770.

'Lord Weymouth and Lord Gower will wait upon you this morning to press you in the strongest manner to accept the offer of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. My mind is more and more strengthened in the rightness of the measure, which would prevent every other desertion. You must easily see that if you do not accept I have no Peer at present that I would consent to place in the Duke of Grafton's employment' (*The King to Lord North*).[1]

North was trusted by the King, and, out of loyalty to the Crown, remained Prime Minister for twelve very difficult years. George worked hard to keep a majority for the Premier in Parliament; any one who voted against the Government received special marks of disfavour.

'March 14, 1772.

'I wish a list to be prepared of those that went away, and of those that deserted to the minority. That, will be a rule for my conduct in the Drawing Room to-morrow' (*The King to Lord North*).[2]

North himself had excellent parliamentary gifts. He was a good speaker, always talking sensibly and to the point. Although attacked by the most brilliant men of the time—Burke, Fox, the younger Pitt—he never, in the most acrimonious debate, allowed his temper to be ruffled. Placid, always good-humoured, blinking short-sightedly, awakened by the pushes of his colleagues from a short nap in his seat on the Treasury Bench, he would rise to answer his opponents cheerfully and sensibly. He was the eldest son of the Earl of Guilford, and until his father's death, in 1790, sat in the House of Commons. As a minister his only fault it was a very grave one—was a certain want of energy. He was industrious and conscientious, but not strenuous or firm, and during his ministry certain departments, like the War Office,

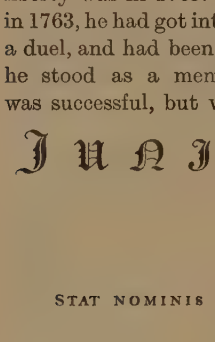
[1] Mahon, *History of England*, v. 390. [2] Ibid. 392.

were incapably managed. In private life he was entirely estimable, and never happier than when living with his family in the country at Wroxton Abbey. His views on government were not those of to-day ; he believed in governing the people, not in letting them govern. Just before becoming Prime Minister, he said he had voted against all the ' popular ' measures of the last seven years. This showed the absence of ambition in him, for, as he said, ' there is rarely an ambitious man who does not try to be popular '.

Wilkes. It was not so much Lord North, however, but his master that was becoming unpopular. The feeling against the King's intervention in politics was increased by the actions of the famous Whig John Wilkes. This man was born in 1727, the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell. He received a good education at private schools, and became known as a young man for his wit, his literary taste and ability, and also for his fast living. He belonged to a famous drinking-club called the *Monks of Medmenham* (an old abbey in Buckinghamshire), and none of the band was more jolly or reckless than he. He aspired, however, to be a statesman as well as a man of fashion, and in 1757 he obtained a seat in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury ; at the same time he was colonel of the Bucks. militia. The Ministry, however, declined to admit him to office, and he consoled himself, for a time, with journalism. In 1762 he began to produce a weekly journal called the *North Briton,* in which he vigorously criticized or rather attacked the North British statesman Lord Bute. In Number 45 of the journal his criticisms of the King's Speech amounted almost to giving the lie to the King, and accordingly the Home Secretary issued a General Warrant for the apprehension of any one concerned in the article. It was out of the judicial proceedings which ensued that General Warrants were declared illegal—a very good result, for no one would be safe from imprisonment if the police were authorized to arrest people in general on mere suspicion.

A VIEW OF LUDGATE HILL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The next step which Wilkes gained in the march towards liberty was in 1769. Since the episode of General Warrants in 1763, he had got into various other kinds of trouble including a duel, and had been outlawed. When he came back in 1768 he stood as a member of Parliament for Middlesex and was successful, but was not allowed to take his seat by the House of Commons. He was four times elected, and at last the House declared that his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, was duly returned. 'This insolent claim to limit the free choice of a constituency', as J. R. Green calls the action of the House, evoked a storm of indignation, being especially held up to scorn by the *Letters of Junius*. These letters appeared in the *Public Advertiser* between the years 1769 and 1772, in which year they began also to be issued in book form; their authorship has never been discovered, although they have often been ascribed to Philip Francis, a clerk in the War Office and later famous (and highly unpopular) in Indian history.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'Wilkes and Liberty' became so popular that the demagogue was elected first an Alderman and then Lord Mayor of London, and while sitting on the magisterial bench he established certain precedents which give greater freedom to printers. Thus this noisy politician, so much a mixture of bad and good, could say when he died in 1797

that he had destroyed General Warrants, had established freedom of elections, and had confirmed the liberty of the Press.

George III had himself been Wilkes's most determined opponent. 'I think it highly expedient to inform you', he wrote to Lord North during the time of the Middlesex Election, 'that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes appears to be very essential, and must be effected.' That the King should thus step into the arena of party politics was ruining his prestige; and the American War seemed likely to finish his reputation altogether.

The American Colonies. The thirteen British Colonies in North America, outside Canada, differed in many important respects from each other, as, under the name of States, they still differ; and indeed there are two things equally remarkable about them: one is that the thirteen Colonies should take up arms against the Mother Country; the other is that they should form one strong federal union. The circumstances of the rebellion are memorable, for they produced, on the one hand, the United States of America, with its ideals of freedom; on the other hand, through the experience gained by the British, a new type of empire was developed, the modern self-governing British Empire.

Under the Old Colonial System each colony stood by itself. Each had its own Governor, appointed by the Home Government; and each had a Legislative Assembly, which passed local Acts and voted the Governor's salary. In this way the Colonies enjoyed a large amount of self-government. The New England Colonies had a hardy population of farmers, strongly Presbyterian, well educated, with fine colleges at Harvard and at Yale. The southern Colonies contained large estates, growing tobacco and cotton, cultivated by slave labour. There the manor-houses, and to a certain extent the lives, of the squires of the Old Country were reproduced on American soil. Thackeray's *Virginians* gives a good picture of this life.

Causes of friction. It was not till after 1750 that discontent on the part of the Colonies with the Mother Country began to appear. In Walpole's time, quietness prevailed. An ex-Governor of Pennsylvania suggested to him a direct tax on the Colonies. This was after the failure of the Excise Bill (p. 451). The statesman replied: 'I have old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?'

The Navigation Acts were a source of a certain amount of friction. By these laws goods could only be shipped to or from the Colonies in British or Colonial ships. This rule prevented foreign shipping, from which large profits would have been made, from entering colonial ports. In addition, foreign goods could not be imported into the Colonies without being first landed in England, nor could goods be shipped to foreign countries from the Colonies without first being landed in England. These goods paid English customs dues, which were handed back if the goods were carried out of the country again. Walpole's Excise Bill, if it had passed, would have remedied this cumbrous system. His 'Rice Act' also gave a certain amount of freedom to the Colonies to trade direct with foreign countries (p. 454). In 1750, however, the principles of government on which this wise statesman had acted were set aside. A 'Colonial Manufactures Prohibition Act' was passed. Certain articles were named which were forbidden to be manufactured in the Colonies, and which, therefore, had to be purchased from Great Britain. Thus, for instance, the Pennsylvanians might mine and export iron-ore, but they could not manufacture it into bar or pig-iron.

The Stamp Act. Commercial restrictions, wherever they exist, are always a great cause of friction. In 1765 another cause was introduced, namely, direct taxation. Hitherto, the British Parliament had regulated the customs dues on imports; but it had never imposed a direct tax on the Colonies. In 1765, however, under the premiership of George Grenville

—an industrious and efficient minister, but not a statesman of wide outlook—a Stamp Act was passed. This Act imposed a fee, varying from 3*d.* to £10, on all legal documents in the Colonies. The object of the tax was to supply £100,000, which was one-third of the sum required to pay the military forces in North America. Britain was to pay for the other two-thirds.

Up till 1765, each Colony, in its Legislative Assembly, had controlled its own direct taxes. Grenville, however, argued, with some reason, that it would be impossible to get each of the thirteen Colonies, in thirteen separate Assemblies, to vote the exact quota of the tax which they ought to pay. The Colonists, on the other hand, denied that they could be taxed directly by a Parliament, sitting thousands of miles away, in which they had no representation.

The true view was expressed by Burke in one of his great speeches on conciliation. The Stamp Act, he said, could not be called illegal, though direct taxation of Colonies by Parliament was against constitutional custom. But if not illegal, the decision to impose direct taxation was unwise, and the amount of money to be got, in comparison with the loyal Colonies to be lost, not worth bothering about.

'Such is steadfastly my opinion of the absolute necessity of keeping up the concord of this empire by a unity of spirit, though in a diversity of operations, that, if I were sure the colonists had, at their leaving this country, sealed a regular compact of servitude; that they had solemnly abjured all the right of citizens; that they had made a vow to renounce all ideas of liberty for them and their posterity to all generations; yet I should hold myself obliged to conform to the temper I found universally prevalent in my own day, and to govern two millions of men, impatient of servitude, on the principles of freedom. I am not determining a point of law; I am restoring tranquillity; and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them. That point nothing else can or ought to determine.

'My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right, or grant as matter of favour, is *to admit*

the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution: and, by recording that admission in the journals of parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean for ever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.' [1]

This speech was delivered on March 22, 1775, less than a month before the battle of Lexington. In 1766 the Marquis of Rockingham, a Whig Premier of moderate views, had repealed the Stamp Act. Next year, however, the Duke of Grafton's Ministry, after Chatham had fallen ill and left it, passed an Act which (to assert the principle simply) imposed about £40,000 worth of duty on imports into the American Colonies.

In 1770 Lord North became Premier, as the friend of George III, prepared loyally to carry out his views. George believed that he must carry on the Old Colonial System as he had inherited it; the claim of the colonists to settle their own direct taxes meant a self-governing empire of a completely new kind. 'It would be better', wrote George to Lord North, 'to give up the empire, than to admit one particle of these principles.' So he insisted on North maintaining the right of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies.

Two months after Lord North had become Prime Minister, a riot occurred in Boston, the troops had to be called out, and three citizens were killed. This event was magnified in public opinion under the name of the 'Boston Massacre' (March 1770). Two years later one of the British revenue schooners, the *Gaspee*, was boarded and burned while it was lying at Providence in Rhode Island. The authors of this daring act were never discovered. In 1773 the British Government allowed the East India Company to export tea from its warehouses in London, without paying the English duty, to America. The colonists would thus be able to buy tea cheaply, for it would only have to pay the small duty at American ports. But when the tea-ships came to

[1] Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America*.

Boston they were not allowed by the populace to land their cargoes; and before they could leave they were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and the tea was thrown into the sea. The Government punished the town for this 'Boston Tea-party' by closing the port to commerce, and at the same time (1774) they suppressed the popular charter of Massachusetts. The result was the outbreak of war in April 1775 and the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

Causes of the British failure. The desultory seven years' war which followed, honourably waged on both sides, was disastrous for England. Compared with the British people, the Colonists were inferior in numbers, wealth, and resources of every kind. Nor were they superior in leadership; there were good and bad leaders on both sides, but Clinton and Cornwallis were probably as good generals as Washington or any American. The Colonial officers knew the country better, and their knowledge and training gave them an advantage, such as the Boer leaders had over the English generals in the South African War. Broadly considered, however, the defeat of the Mother Country may be said to have been due to three things: to mismanagement at home, to the distance across the Atlantic, and to the vast and roadless spaces of the Colonies.

The administration at home was bad. George III's absorption in internal politics, the endless party intrigues, had withdrawn attention from the Navy and Army. Lord George Sackville had changed his name, for family reasons, to Germaine since the battle of Minden. He became Colonial Secretary under Lord North. At this time the administration of the War Office was part of the Colonial Secretariat. Lord George Germaine was able but unconscientious, and is said not to have troubled even to read the colonial and military dispatches.

The distance across the Atlantic made it difficult to send sufficient forces to America, and made sea-power more than

ever important. Unfortunately, the naval policy of the time was not good. After France joined the Americans, in 1778, the French fleet was thrown into the scale against England. Admiral Howe advised that the policy of the Admiralty of Pitt's time should be resorted to—that is, that the bulk of the fleet should stay in European waters and blockade the French ports (p. 431). Thus the French fleet would either be shut up, or it would come out against the blockade and probably be destroyed. This policy, however, was not adopted completely or consistently. The French fleet was allowed to sail in colonial waters, and in 1781 it obtained (for a short time) sufficient command of the sea to bring about the capitulation of General Lord Cornwallis in Yorktown—the decisive action of the war.

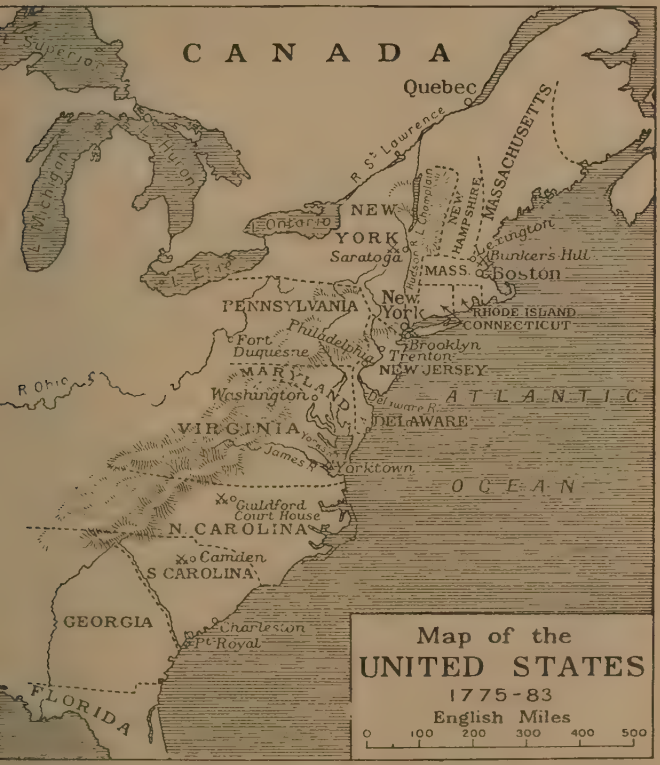
The vast extent of the country over which the English forces had to operate gave splendid opportunities to the mobile American Colonists to beset the red-coats, much as the French and Indians had beset Braddock's men near Fort Duquesne (p. 494). The unfortunate campaign of General Burgoyne in 1777, ending with the capitulation of Saratoga Springs, shows the dangers of operating without enormous resources in men, supplies, and transport among the forests and lakes of eastern Canada and New York State.

The operations of the war. The American Army was an untrained militia, but under Washington it gradually acquired discipline, and showed itself skilful in 'regular' operations, as well as in the more 'irregular' style of fighting which suited the trackless nature of much of the country.

The British commanders showed extraordinary slowness in following up the victories which they secured at the beginning of the war. They seem to have held back, in the hope that some peaceful settlement of the dispute might be arranged. The chief successes of the British in the early days were at Bunker's Hill, and against the American invasion of Canada.

Bunker's Hill. The battle of Bunker's Hill was fought on June 17, 1775. About 4,000 of the Colonists had seized this

hill and one other—Breed's Hill—commanding the town of Boston. The British soldiers, in number about 2,000, had to



take these positions, in the face of the fire of the strongly posted Americans. In this difficult task they succeeded, losing 800 men, killed by the American sharpshooters. The enemy in their retreat might have been entirely cut off by an energetic pursuit. So good a chance was not to occur

again ; after Bunker's Hill the American troops gained experience, and showed better fighting qualities.

In the winter of this year, 1775, the Americans invaded Canada, which they expected to rise in sympathy with them. There were practically no regular troops in the country, and the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Viscount Dorchester) could only raise a few thousand militiamen. Abandoning Montreal to the American General Montgomery, Carleton made an adventurous journey almost alone to Quebec, where he organized a brilliant defence (November 1775–May 1776). At first he had to deal only with the division which Benedict Arnold had brought by the Kennebec–Chaudière route ; but after Montgomery came down from Montreal he had to face the united American forces. These were defeated, however, in a battle on the Heights of Abraham (the third in seventeen years), and Montgomery was killed (December 31, 1775). In May Quebec was relieved by a British fleet, and the Americans were driven out of Canada.

The threefold scheme. There were three groups of British forces which did most of the fighting. The first was called the army of New York, the second that of Canada, the third that of the South. New York was actually in possession of the Americans, and the great object of the army of New York, under General Howe, was to take it. The British forces, which included Germans hired from the Landgrave of Hesse and Duke of Brunswick, were about equal in number to the American.

Howe's army at first gained considerable success. The battle of Brooklyn, fought on August 27, 1776, ended with the rout of Washington's army, which was only able to withdraw through Howe's dilatoriness in pursuit. New York was recovered. The British could have crossed the Delaware and pushed forward into Pennsylvania, which was a stronghold of the insurgent cause. Instead, however, Howe dispersed his army in winter quarters. On Christmas Day (1776) Washing-

ton suddenly crossed to the east of the Delaware, and captured the whole German garrison of Trenton.

In 1777 Howe did something to rectify his mistakes of the previous year, and after some operations, skilfully conceived and boldly carried out, he took Philadelphia. The failure of the army of Canada, however, made Howe's advanced positions in Pennsylvania insecure.

The army of Canada. The army of Canada was a force of about 7,000 British soldiers, under General Burgoyne, a capable soldier and a writer of plays. The plan which he was meant to carry into effect was a good one; it was to advance from Lake Champlain south to New York, down the Hudson river. Forces from New York were to advance up the river under General Clinton, one of the most energetic and able soldiers in the British Army. This scheme, if executed successfully, would have given the British command of the fine valley of the Hudson, and would have cut off the New England States from the rest of the seceding Colonies. As might have been expected, however, the combined operations between troops separated by hundreds of miles of practically unknown country were a failure. Burgoyne had left Lake Champlain in June (1777). On October 9 the small army struggled into Saratoga village in the Hudson valley: 'the men', wrote Burgoyne, 'for the most part had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet clothes, upon the wet ground, under the continuing rain'. On the 17th the army capitulated to General Schuyler, who had 16,000 men. This notable success of the Americans revived their cause everywhere; it put out of action a force of British soldiers who could not easily be replaced; and—most important of all results—it decided the Government of France and—soon afterwards—that of Spain to join in the struggle against England. The war ceased to be a domestic contest in America; it became European, and indeed world-wide. Britain, assailed on the sea, in America, and in India, found the strain too much. She could

only deal effectively with one assailant at a time; and so, with the intervention of France, the reconquest of the revolting colonies became almost impossible.

The army of the south. Generals Clinton and Cornwallis were the heroes of the war in the south. In 1780 Clinton took Charleston, and recovered a great portion of South and North Carolina. After a time he was recalled to New York, to meet fresh dangers there, and Lord Cornwallis was left behind with about 4,000 men. Under him was a younger soldier, Lord Rawdon (aged 26), as second-in-command. Both these men were to be known later, as among the finest of the Governors-General of India. As soldiers they showed great courage; Lord Cornwallis, who was 42 years old in 1780, was careful, punctual, and sound. Lord Rawdon was a soldier of the more dashing kind. By the battles of Camden and Guildford Court House, they struck severe blows at the American forces in the south; but the enemy always increased in number, while the British diminished. In 1781 Cornwallis decided to fight his way northwards, to join, if possible, with the army of New York. Collecting all the forces in the south, he allowed himself to commit a great strategical mistake by taking up what he must have known to be a dangerous position in Yorktown.

Yorktown. A peninsula, eight miles broad, juts out into the sea, with the River York on the north, and the River James on the south. The village of Yorktown is on the high southern bank of the York. Cornwallis had 7,000 men when Washington began to draw round it with 18,000 men, including a division of French under the Marquis of Lafayette (September 28, 1781). The village was not a good place for defence; and when it became clear that Sir Henry Clinton could not come to his relief by land, nor the Navy by sea, Cornwallis had nothing to do but to cut his way out, or to surrender. A gallant sortie was made, but failed in the face of overwhelming numbers. The enemy's batteries commanded the whole village and camp, and there was no choice between fruitless

destruction and capitulation. On October 18 the negotiations were concluded. The British forces were to march out with the honours of war, and then to remain prisoner :

'The scene which ensued is described by an eye-witness, a French chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau. The two lines of the Allied army, says Abbé Robin, were drawn out for upwards of a mile ; the Americans having the right. The disproportion of heights and ages in their men, and their soiled and ragged clothing might be unfavourably contrasted with the neater and more soldierly appearance of the French. Yet, under such circumstances, the personal disadvantages of a raw Militia should rather be looked upon as an enhancement of the triumph they had gained. The Abbé was struck at seeing, from several indications, how much keener was at that time the animosity between the English and Americans than between the English and French. Thus, the English officers, when they laid down their arms, and were passing along the enemy's lines, courteously saluted every French officer, even of the lowest rank ; a compliment which they withheld from every American, even of the highest.' [1]

It was the temporary loss of the command of the sea by the British Navy that caused the fall of Yorktown, the final disaster of the American War.

Naval operations. Some splendid actions were fought by the Navy, although unfortunately the command of the sea was not consistently maintained. The Americans, under the able Scottish sailor, Paul Jones, began the fine traditions of the United States Navy ; but it was the advent of the French fleet on the American side which, for a short time, turned the scale against the British.

In 1780 Admiral Rodney, on his way to the West Indian Station, met the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Out of the enemy's twelve ships, four were sunk, four captured, and four escaped. Gibraltar, which the Spanish beleaguered as soon as they entered into the war (1778), was relieved. By the end of 1780 the Dutch had also joined the combination against Britain, angered by the drastic right of search which

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, vol. vii, ch. lxiv.

the Navy exercised over all neutral ships sailing in the Atlantic. The hostility with which maritime Powers regarded this right of search is seen in the formation of the Armed Neutrality (1780), a Convention by which Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria bound themselves to enforce the doctrine that 'neutral ships make neutral goods'.

In 1781 (Feb.) Rodney's fleet captured the little Dutch island of St. Eustatia, and found it to be one vast magazine of supplies for the Americans. This capture was so valuable that the Admiral delayed at the island to arrange for transporting the goods to England. It was not of himself he was thinking: 'The whole I have seized', he declared, 'for the King and the State, and I hope will go to the public revenue of my country. I do not look upon myself as entitled to one sixpence, neither do I deserve it.' The delay, however, was disastrous. He ought to have been following the simple old rule of Admiralty, to seek out the enemy's fleet, to destroy it.

In August, while Rodney was still at St. Eustatia, the French admiral, Comte de Grasse, appeared off the Chesapeake with eight-and-twenty sail. Admiral Graves and Sir Samuel Hood between them had only nineteen. On September 5 these two sailors led their small fleet to meet the French, to do what they could to destroy it. The task, however, was beyond their powers, and after a skilfully fought but rather desultory action, extending over several days, the fleets separated. Graves had to put back to New York (which was still in English hands); de Grasse sailed to Yorktown. For a few weeks the British Navy did not command the sea, and this was the reason why Yorktown could not be relieved, and why Cornwallis had to surrender with his brave men to Washington.

In May 1782 instructions were sent out to the West Indies for the recall of Admiral Rodney; before the letter was dispatched, he had won his greatest victory. On April 8, 1782, Comte de Grasse, with thirty-three sail of the line, and with five thousand troops, left Port Royal in Martinique to capture

the fine British island of Jamaica. Rodney's cruisers brought him word to St. Lucia, and within two hours he was sailing off to meet the French.

The object of the British admiral was to force the French to engage with him; the object of the French was to keep away till they could effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, which was off San Domingo. 'They kept an awful distance,' wrote Rodney; he meant that the French kept disappointingly far away. On April 11, however, Rodney's ships had drawn near to the French. The admiral was in the *Formidable*; Hood, in the *Barfleur*, with five other ships, had fallen behind in a calm. On the 12th, Rodney, with equal numbers, engaged the French. With the *Formidable* leading, the *Namur*, *Duke*, and *Canada* coming next, he bore straight down upon the French fleet and 'broke the line'. It was the first time in naval history that this manœuvre was put into practice with complete success. The old style of fighting was for each ship to try and lay itself alongside another, to sink it or board it. Rodney manœuvred his whole fleet like a solid regiment, and broke the enemy's line into two sections:

'In the act of doing so we passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux* of seventy-four guns, which was so roughly handled that she was shorn of all her masts, bow-sprit, and ensign-staff, but with the white flag[1] nailed to the stump of one of her masts, and breathing defiance as it were in her last moments. Thus become a motionless hulk, she presented a spectacle which struck our Admiral's fancy as not unlike the remains of a fallen hero; for being an indefatigable reader of Homer, he exclaimed that now was to be the contest for the body of Patroclus.'[2]

The French fleet, cut asunder, fell into confusion; after a long and hotly contested engagement, in which the French, though at a disadvantage, fought heroically, five ships were

[1] The white flag was the Royal Standard of France under the Bourbon kings.

[2] Quoted by Mahon, *History of England*, vol. vii, ch. lxvi (narrative of Dr. Blane).

taken, and one sunk; two others were captured by Hood when they had escaped from the main battle. The French admiral's ship, *Ville de Paris*, struck its flag when only three men were left alive on the upper deck, one of them being Admiral de Grasse himself. This fight has been called the battle of Saintes, after a small island in the vicinity.

Siege of Gibraltar. The news of Rodney's victory, which 'served to bring back to our arms their pristine lustre' (Mahon), restored the self-respect of the British people after the depressing days of the American War. The defence of Gibraltar was another glorious episode in Britain's history. Spain had joined in the war after Saratoga, and at once besieged Gibraltar. General Elliot, a veteran of the Seven Years' War, with five thousand soldiers, defended it with splendid bravery and constancy. Stores ran short, and thistles and dandelions had to be used for food. Rodney's victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1780 (p. 527) enabled the fleet to relieve and revictual the fortress, but afterwards it was closely besieged again. After another year, when stores had almost given out, Admiral Darby brought a second relief convoy safely into port (1781). The Spaniards maintained a bombardment of —till then—incredible intensity, firing from their cannon, in six weeks, 50,000 shot and 20,000 shell into the little town. Elliot was not content merely with manning the walls and repairing breaches. He organized successful sallies, and conducted a brilliant defence, with wonderfully small loss of life to the British. Early in 1782 the French captured Minorca, and then added their forces to those of the Spaniards in front of Gibraltar—in all there were 33,000 men, with 170 pieces of artillery, besieging 5,000 British soldiers and 2,000 marines and sailors on the Rock. The courteous French general, de Crillon, sent a present of fresh vegetables to General Elliot. Elliot received the present, but in civil terms requested that no more should be sent, as he made it a rule to share everything with his troops, and could accept nothing for his private use.

The great effort of the French and Spanish was made in September 1782. Ten huge rafts were constructed in the port of Algeciras. They were to carry 142 pieces of artillery, to blow the fortress to pieces. General Elliot learned the design, and prepared to meet the floating batteries with red-hot shot, which his soldiers called *roasted potatoes*. On September 13 the rafts were floated to within 600 yards of the British defences, and a lively cannonade ensued. The red-hot balls of the defenders were highly successful. Eight of the floating batteries were destroyed by fire; the blaze that came from them lit up the Rock (it was night-time) with a lurid glare. French and Spanish sailors and artillerymen could be seen flinging themselves into the water, and clinging to spars and wreckage. The Marine Brigade was sent down to help them, and by this means 300 of the enemy were saved from drowning.

The assault of the floating batteries was the last serious effort of the besiegers; the Rock remained British. Elliot was raised to the peerage as Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar.

The Peace of Versailles. The War of American Independence was now to be brought to an end. The intervention of France and Spain, though bringing disaster to those two countries, had made the reduction of the American Colonies impossible for England. The long administration of Lord North came to an end (March 1782). He no longer commanded a Tory majority in the House of Commons. On the evening of the final debate, he rose and thanked the House for their kindness during so many years, and intimated his resignation. Cheerful and dignified to the end, he left the House. Other members, mostly bitter opponents, stood round the door, waiting for their carriages; but, expecting a long debate, they had ordered their coachmen to come back late. 'You see, gentlemen,' said Lord North, as he stepped into his carriage, which was waiting, 'the advantage of being in the secret. Good night.'

A Whig administration was formed under Lord Rockingham, who, however, died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded as Premier by Lord Shelburne, later known as Marquis of Lans-

downe. Shelburne, though never very powerful in the country, was one of the sanest men of the time. He at once set about to conclude the long war, and had practically finished negotiations when his ministry fell in February 1783. On September 3, 1783, three simultaneous treaties were signed, with France, Spain, and the United States. The three treaties constitute the Peace of Versailles. By the treaty with France, Great Britain confirmed the right of the French to fish on and off the northern shore of Newfoundland (a privilege dating from the Peace of Utrecht), and restored Senegal in West Africa. The islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat were retained by Great Britain, but Tobago was ceded to France (and not recovered till 1814). Spain recovered Minorca and Florida. Peace was also made a little later with the Dutch (1784). The treaty with the United States recognized their full and complete independence.

End of the ascendancy of George III. The Peace of Versailles practically closes the period in which George had striven for and obtained personal power in the government of the country. The effort had brought disaster upon Britain, the loss of the American Colonies, and an increase of 100 millions in the National Debt. It had also brought grave danger to the Crown. In 1780 the Whig, John Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton) had carried a motion in the House: 'That the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.' This was a direct blow to George, and might have been the beginning of a movement which would leave little of royalty at all in the land. Fortunately, towards the end of the American War, there was coming to the front a young statesman who was to be equally influential with King and people. This was the younger Pitt. When George's minister was also the people's chosen minister, a conflict between King and people could not arise, and so Britain passed through the troubled period of the French Revolution without any serious breach in her system of government.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The Coalition of Fox and North. Lord Shelburne's Ministry was defeated in February 1783, in a debate on the Peace of Versailles. Then an extraordinary thing happened. The Tory Lord North joined with the great opponent of his former administration, the Whig Charles James Fox, in a coalition Ministry.[1] North believed that Shelburne had made bad terms with the French and Americans, and therefore he opposed Shelburne; but no one can say why the Whig Fox joined with him, for Fox had spoken warmly in favour of the Americans. This coalition Ministry was intensely disliked by King George. In November of the same year (1783) the Ministry introduced an 'India Bill' into Parliament. In the course of the Seven Years' War the East India Company had become something more than a great trading concern; it had become the governing power of a great part of India. The object of Fox's India Bill was to vest this governing authority in a board of commissioners, sitting in London. Each commissioner was to hold office for four years. The first set of commissioners was to be appointed by Parliament; after their four years' term of office had expired, the next set was to be appointed by the Crown. The King objected to being excluded from appointing the commissioners during the first four years. When the Bill was being debated in the House of Lords, George III gave Earl Temple a written message to show to the Peers. The message of the King ran, 'whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy'. This act was probably George's greatest offence against the constitution. If he did not approve of his ministers, he ought to have dismissed them, but should not have intrigued against them. Nevertheless,

[1] The coalition had a nominal Prime Minister in the Duke of Portland a Rockingham Whig.

the King's message decided a sufficient number of peers to vote against the Bill, so as to secure its rejection in the House. Then, on December 18, George felt strong enough to dismiss the ministers. The position of Premier was offered to William Pitt.

William Pitt. This was the second son of the great Earl of Chatham. The younger Pitt is a rare instance of a youthful prodigy who proved to be a sustained success through life. He was born on May 28, 1759, the wonderful year of victories—Minden, Lagos, Quiberon Bay, Quebec. Unlike all the other great statesmen of the period, he never went to a public school. His health was very weak, and accordingly he was kept at home, and educated by a private tutor. At the age of seven he was able to talk about politics, and at the age of fourteen years he is said to have discussed questions with something of the wit and wisdom of the great Chatham. When fifteen years old, he was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he resided for the next seven years. For the first two years at college he spent a perfectly retired life, reading diligently with his tutor, a young graduate named Pretyman.[1] He was strictly regular in his habits, attended the college chapel morning and evening, seldom went to parties, and by the end of his residence had mastered almost the whole of Greek and Latin literature. During his last year at Cambridge he made frequent visits to London, to listen to the debates in Parliament, and was present in the House of Lords on April 7, 1778, when his father made the great speech against granting independence to the Americans. Later in the debate Chatham had attempted a reply to the Opposition, but had fallen back in a swoon, which led to his death a month later, at the age of 70. The older son, John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham, was a soldier of only moderate ability; it was the younger, William, who inherited his father's genius.

In 1780 Pitt left Cambridge and went to the Bar. He also obtained, through family interest, a seat in Parliament for the

[1] George Pretyman, Fellow of Pembroke, and later Bishop of Lincoln. He became a lifelong friend of Pitt, and attended him on his death-bed.

'pocket' borough of Appleby. Although only twenty-one years of age, he spoke with perfect self-possession, and in an eloquent and lofty manner, which commanded the attention of his hearers. He prepared himself regularly for speaking in the House by reading through some pages of a Greek or Latin classic and translating them into English. In 1782 Lord Shelburne, who was a man of most original mind, offered Pitt, only twenty-three years old, the responsible post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Besides his eminent parliamentary gifts, Pitt possessed other qualifications; he had studied mathematics deeply at Cambridge, working especially hard at Newton's *Principia*. He was also one of the warmest appreciators of Adam Smith's classic work on political economy, *The Wealth of Nations* (published 1776). On Shelburne's fall, Pitt went out of office likewise; but when George dismissed Fox and North, in December 1783, to the astonishment of Parliament and the country, he offered the greatest position under the Crown, the post of Prime Minister of Great Britain, to Pitt, aged 24.

George's action was scarcely constitutional, for the young Premier had certainly not a majority in the House of Commons, and to take office without having the confidence of the House is against the principles of Responsible Government. It was the personal action of the King which made Pitt Prime Minister; but at last the King's personal wishes and the will of the people coincided. For three months (December 18, 1783, to March 25, 1784) Pitt held office in the face of adverse votes in the House of Commons. By the end of this time, the ability, eloquence, and obvious integrity of the young minister had won support for his measures even from the Opposition. Then the King dissolved Parliament; a general election was held. Pitt himself was elected member for Cambridge University; his party—the Tory party obtained a large majority. The Prime Minister, now twenty-five years old, was the idol of the whole country. Henceforth, King and people equally trusted him, and the popularity of the Crown steadily increased.

Pitt had done what Bolingbroke had dreamed of and what George III had failed to do—he had made the Tory party popular and supported throughout the country.

The Peace Administration. Macaulay, in his essay on Pitt in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, wrote: 'The eight years which followed the general election of 1784 were as tranquil and prosperous as any eight years in the whole history of England.' All Pitt's interest was in peace. The great inventions which brought about the Industrial Revolution (p. 539), were making Britain into a hive of factories and workshops. It was Pitt's task to set trade free to take advantage of these inventions. His policy was directed chiefly to three things: one was to pay off a large part of the National Debt; the second was to reduce customs duties; the third was to make the system of political representation more simple and fair.

The Sinking Fund. Pitt's policy with regard to the National Debt was to set aside a sum of money every year, to be accumulated till a substantial amount of the debt could be paid off with it. A large National Debt hampers trade, because the Government has to raise heavy taxes in order to find the interest on the debt; and high taxation takes away wealth which is required for the agriculture and manufactures of the country. Pitt was therefore wise to use, as Walpole had used, the surplus revenue in order to pay back the debt. To accumulate the money in a fund, however, was not sound finance; it would have been better to pay back a certain amount of debt each year, and so to save paying interest on that portion of the debt in future years. It is on this method that most modern so-called sinking funds are administered.

The customs and taxation. In the eighteenth century there was an immense amount of smuggling. The customs duties on spirits, wine, tobacco, and many other commodities were so high that enormous profits could be made by any importer who could evade the duties. In all the ports round the coast there were men who went out to sea in swift little schooners or sloops on dark nights, met some French or Dutch

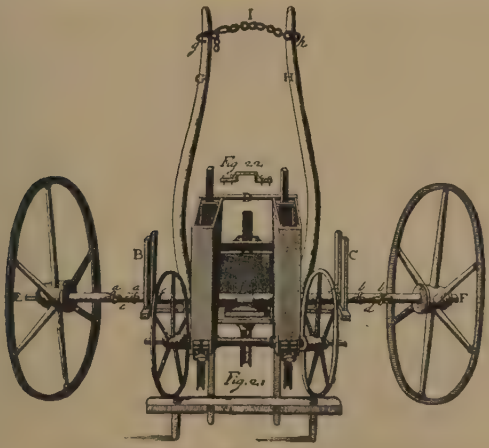
boat, shipped their illicit kegs or bales, and then ran for some lonely creek. There were regular agents in the large towns who received these illegal goods and disposed of them in the way of ordinary trade. There was something romantic about smuggling; the beautiful cliffs and caves of Cornwall, the wild coasts of the west of Scotland, provided endless opportunities. In the present day one can follow the paths, marked by whitewashed stones, which the coastguards made round the coasts of the south of England, in their ceaseless watch for smugglers. Yet the romances which have grown up round the careers of smugglers, like the powerful novel of Scott—*Guy Mannering*—or the charming unfinished novel of Thackeray—*Denis Duval*—must not blind us to the fact that smuggling was a sordid business, which cheated the revenue, and that other people had to pay more in taxes in order to make up what the revenue lost. Moreover, the smugglers were a brutal class of people. In lonely districts they made a veritable reign of terror, and horribly ill-treated every one who would not help them.

Smuggling has now almost disappeared. The duties have been lowered, so that the profits, even of the most successful smuggling, cannot be very high. The risk, on the other hand, becomes greater, because, if duty is levied on fewer articles, the trade in these articles can be more easily watched. Pitt reduced the duties; the tax upon tea was more than the cost of the tea when it entered the country. He lowered the charge from 119 per cent. of the value of the tea to 12½ per cent. On the other hand, he imposed a tax on windows in all houses which had more than seven. This was not a good form of taxation, and is the reason why in many of the older houses in England some of the window-spaces are still blind—bricked up. A tax which has found greater favour with statesmen is the income-tax. It was first imposed by Pitt in 1798 to help to pay for the French War. All incomes of over £200 a year paid a tax of 10 per cent.; that is, 2*s.* in the £. Incomes between £60 and £200 paid a lower scale of tax. Incomes below £60 were free of tax. The tax was only

a measure for the war, and was removed in 1816. In 1786 Pitt negotiated a treaty which was a step towards a free exchange of commodities with the great agricultural and industrial country, France. The treaty lowered the duties to be paid on entry into England of French wines and also silk. The French on their side reduced the duties on British cotton, woollen, and iron goods.

The Agricultural Revolution. During the last fifty years England had been steadily growing in prosperity. It was in agriculture that progress first became marked. In the seventeenth century much land had been won for tillage and pasture through the draining of marshes, particularly in East Anglia, when the Bedford Level, extending over parts of Cambridge, Northampton, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk, was made by two successive Earls of Bedford (who received charters in 1634 and 1649), at a cost of over £400,000. In the next century Charles Viscount Townshend, who retired from Walpole's Ministry in 1730, devoted much time and attention to improving methods of farming on his Norfolk estate, Raynham. There he cultivated the turnip (for which he got seed in Germany), and thus made possible both a better rotation of crops than heretofore, and also a more regular supply of meat, as cattle could be well fed on turnips all through winter. With better husbandry and the need for more food (owing to increasing population) came an accelerated tendency to 'enclose' the open village fields. In the old type of village the fields were all common to the inhabitants, each of whom cultivated a number of strips situated in different parts of the fields. This system was very wasteful, as a balk of turf had to be left between each strip to mark it off from the next; and, naturally, much time was lost by cultivators in passing from one strip to another, and in ploughing in different parts of the same field. The strips, in fact, hardly repaid cultivation. So the villagers, either acting for themselves, or at the suggestion of some landowner or large farmer, would petition Parliament to

pass a Bill, in order to enclose the village fields; the open fields with their strips were to be done away with, and each villager instead would receive his share of land all in one piece; he could then fence it and cultivate it as he pleased. Generally, he found, when he had got his enclosure, that he could not compete with the large farmer who used the latest scientific methods, and had money wherewith to buy the best machinery.

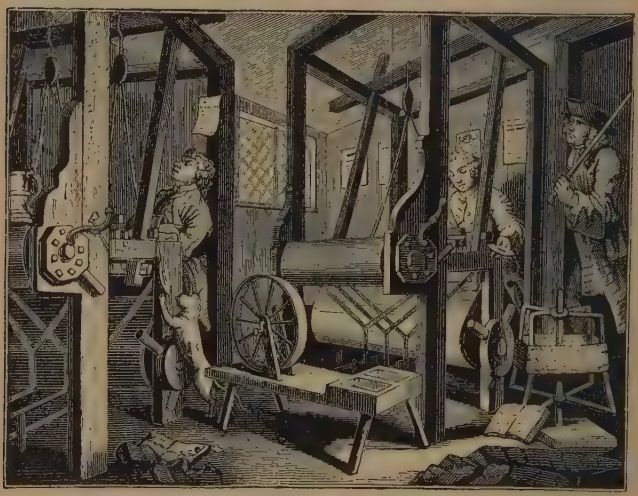


JETHRO TULL'S WHEAT DRILL, 1733

So he sold his land, and became a hired labourer, or else he went into the towns to work in the new industries which were growing up. Thus land came to be held in large farms, of great fields, enclosed by hedges and ditches. The large farms produced far more food than did the 'open field system', which never could have supported the large population of the England of the Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless, the almost total disappearance of the small landowner is greatly to be regretted.

The Industrial Revolution. The term 'Industrial Revolu-

tion ' means the system of making things, on a great scale, with the help of steam-power, in large factories, as compared with the old system of making goods in people's cottages or in their own shops in the towns. The change was due to the wonderfully improved use of coal in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Digging for coal went on in England all through the Middle Ages, when it was chiefly used in London



WEAVING IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and was called sea-coal, because it was brought by coasting vessels from the north. There was no great need of it, however, for manufacturing, for things were not made on a large scale, except bar-iron, for which not coal but charcoal was used ; this trade existed chiefly in the Forest of Dean and in Sussex. As the forests were gradually being consumed the English iron-trade declined till in 1740 it was only about one-third of what it had been. Just at this time, however, the use of coke with which to smelt iron was becoming known,

and by the year 1750 the iron-trade was again established. It became the leading industry in England after James Watt of Greenock had perfected the steam-engine (of which he was the chief inventor) between 1769 and 1784.

Till the invention of the steam-engine, industries had been forced to cling to the places where water-power existed. But steam made them free to go where they could best get their

POWER LOOM WEAVING IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

raw materials, or their labour, or their markets. It was steam also which made possible the great development of spinning and weaving which took place in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1764 James Hargreaves of Standhill near Blackburn invented the spinning-jenny, with which no less than eight (soon to be increased to eighty) threads could be spun at once; this was followed by the invention of the spinning-frame or throstle by Sir Richard Arkwright of Preston in 1767, and of the mule (a combination of throstle and jenny) by Samuel Crompton of Firwood near Bolton in 1779.

The younger Pitt, by acting on the principles of Adam

Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and by making trade free, gave these inventions the chance to develop their full results. Towns grew in size, the north became rich and populous, instead of poor and sparsely inhabited. With the growth of the factory system came overcrowding in the towns, and with the vastly increased demand for labour women and children became commonly employed, and much harm was caused to child-life. In the country-side the condition of the labourers was no better, and the new Poor Laws only made things worse. In 1795 the Berkshire Magistrates made a resolution (known as the Speenhamland Act), that where wages were too low to support a labourer and his family, the necessary addition would be paid out of the rates. This only further depressed wages, pauperized the labourer, and immensely increased the poor-rate. Thus the Industrial Revolution had its bad as well as good points; but in any case it may be said that without it England would not have had sufficient population or sufficient wealth to carry on the great wars against Napoleon.

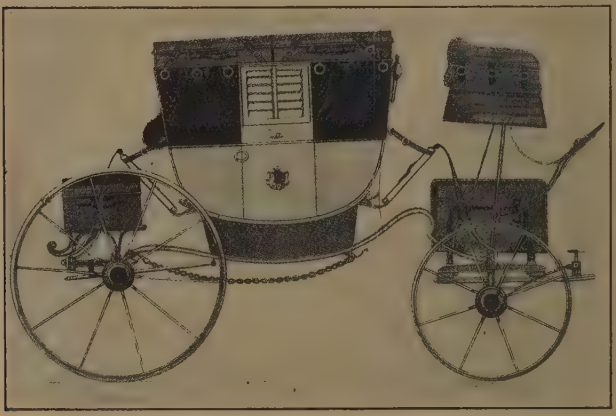
The representative system. The Industrial Revolution, by causing much shifting of the population, had made villages into large towns, and towns into villages. Thus the representative system was out of date. The House of Commons consisted of two members from every county, and two from every borough or town which had ever obtained a charter from the Crown. Many of these boroughs were now decayed, returning members to Parliament according to the will of the owner of the land. Pitt prepared (1784) to take away the right of returning members from 36 of these pocket boroughs. Their 72 places in the House were to be added to the representation of the counties and of London and Westminster. The borough owners who lost their privileges were to be compensated with £1,000,000, to be divided between them. The Bill which Pitt introduced did not get through Parliament, however, and the reform of the representative system was postponed for 48 years.

Social movements. In spite of this defeat, the Government was as strong as ever in 1789. The country was prosperous; trade was good; religion was earnest. John Wesley, who died in 1791, was just completing his great revival of religious feeling throughout the country. The general sentiment of the people was sound. William Wilberforce, a Yorkshireman of good family, was beginning his long-continued efforts to abolish the Slave Trade. Pitt was a close friend of Wilberforce, and had travelled with him in France in 1783; and in 1788 the Prime Minister had a Bill passed through Parliament regulating the number of slaves who could be packed into any size of ship. Pitt was prepared to go farther, and to introduce gradually a scheme for abolishing the odious trade altogether; it was only the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars in Europe that prevented the accomplishment of his noble plan for a time. At home the condition of the poor was receiving sympathetic, though undoubtedly inconsiderate, treatment. Education was good, though not widely extended. The schools of the country were small, but the teachers were scholarly and able. There were fewer careers open to students in those days than there are now; the Church or teaching were the professions most open to graduates of the universities. It was not till 1809 that John Keate became head master of Eton, and by his drastic methods restored the discipline of that famous establishment; Charterhouse was perhaps the most representative school of the land at the time. It was still situated in the old cloistered buildings at Smithfield, London, and existed as a boarding-school attended both by Londoners and by country boys. A pleasant sketch of Charterhouse life may be read in the early part of Thackeray's novel, *The Newcomes*.

Literature. Literature was flourishing in England. In 1787 Gibbon completed the last three volumes of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the most glorious piece of prose among the modern world's histories. The achievement

of this great work was recorded by the historian himself in his journal at Lausanne :

'I shall now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on the day or rather the night of the 27th of June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or



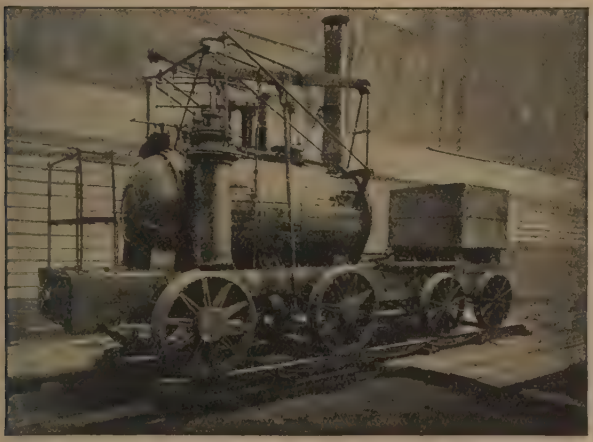
TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT. A travelling coach, 1801

covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and, perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future fate of my History, the life of the historian must be short and precarious.' [1]

Crabbe was resting between two periods of poetic activity ;

[1] *Autobiographic Memoirs of Edward Gibbon.*

Wordsworth was just going up to St. John's College, Cambridge; but Burke was still in all the splendour of his eloquence, and Boswell was completing the greatest biography in the English language—his *Life of Johnson* (it appeared in 1791). Pitt asked only for five years more of peace to complete his great reforms; but the shadow of war had already overcast the country; the angel of death was abroad,



GEORGE STEPHENSON'S 'PUFFING BILLY', constructed 1814

and some observers had already fancied they heard 'the beating of his wings'.

In one of the last letters for the year 1788, Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Ossory:

'Monsieur Necker may, for aught I know, be a dexterous financier—but he is no Richelieu—though no bad politician neither, as far as confounding goes, for the roll of questions he proposed to the notables seems to have thrown open the gates to endless controversy and disputation, and to mean to set all the provinces, all their towns, all the nobility, clergy, and people together by the ears, before they can settle who

shall be *les États*; and thus he may convert a rebellion into a civil war, which may save the prerogative at the expense of the revenue, which one should have thought would rather have been his object to procure and settle. That is his affair—it is ours, whichever way they are embroiled. To me it is private comfort, that all the Machiavels and Machiavellesses of the present age, who have sown war, have only reaped perplexity, disgrace, and discomfiture. France *bouleversed* Holland and was foiled; Cæsar has been baffled by the Turks he despised: Semiramis has drawn Sweden and Poland on her shoulders: and Sweden is in danger at home—*Tant mieux, tant mieux.*' [1]

So wrote this acute, but easygoing and rather cynical observer, living in the serene untroubled air of high society. The catastrophe which he foresaw came, and extended farther than he had ever dreamed, till no country and no class were free from its awful shocks.

The French Revolution. The French Revolution began with the meeting of the Estates General on May 5, 1789—the first representative assembly that had come together in France since 1614. In June there was a rising in Paris against the bureaucratic government of the Crown, and against the privileges of the aristocracy. Shortage of bread contributed greatly to bring about and to aggravate the Revolution. In October (1789) the King of France, Louis XVI, was a prisoner in Paris; on January 21, 1793, he was guillotined (in October his Queen, Marie Antoinette, suffered the same fate). Already, in 1792, a Republican Government had been established in France; the Austrian Netherlands had been invaded, and a Republic established there also. The Scheldt, by the Peace of Utrecht, of 1713, and by the Triple Alliance of England, Prussia, and Holland of 1789, had been closed to navigation from the sea. This had been done, largely to protect the trade of Holland, partly also out of deference to the wishes of English merchants. The French, in 1792, opened the Scheldt to navigation—an action excellent in

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, vol. ix, p. 2453. By *Cæsar*, Joseph II of Austria was intended, and by *Semiramis*, Catherine II of Russia.

itself, but done arbitrarily, without consultation with the States concerned in the treaties by which the river was closed.

The French Revolution, the imprisonment of Louis XVI, the intrigues of the Revolutionaries in Belgium and on the Rhine, had led to war being made by Prussia and Austria upon France. Great Britain, however, had taken no part before 1793, for Pitt was above all things a lover of peace. English opinion, however, was profoundly moved. 'How much', said Fox, on hearing of the fall of the Bastille, 'is it the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!' But to his friend Burke, the French were only 'architects of ruin'. A certain number of people, like Fox, welcomed the Revolution as a notable advance in the direction of freedom; but most people, like Burke, were revolted by the savagery which showed itself in the course of the movement, and dreaded lest this should spread to England:

'What is that cause of liberty, and what are those exertions in its favour to which the example of France is so singularly auspicious? Is our monarchy to be annihilated, with all the laws, all the tribunals and all the ancient corporations of the kingdom? Is every land-mark of the country to be done away in favour of a geometrical and arithmetical constitution? Is the House of Lords to be voted useless? Is episcopacy to be abolished? Are the church lands to be sold to Jews and jobbers; or given to bribe new-invented municipal republics into a participation in sacrilege? Are all the taxes to be voted grievances, and the revenue reduced to a patriotic contribution, or patriotic presents? Are silver shoe buckles to be substituted in the place of the land-tax and the malt-tax for the support of the naval strength of this kingdom? Are all orders, ranks, and distinctions to be confounded, that out of universal anarchy, joined to national bankruptcy, three or four thousand democracies should be formed into eighty-three, and that they may all, by some sort of unknown attractive power, be organized into one? For this great end is the army to be seduced from its discipline and its fidelity, first by every kind of debauchery, and then by the terrible precedent of a donative in the increase of pay? Are the

curates to be seduced from their bishops, by holding out to them the delusive hope of a dole out of the spoils of their own order? Are the citizens of London to be drawn from their allegiance by feeding them at the expense of their fellow-subjects? Is a compulsory paper currency to be substituted in the place of the legal coin of this kingdom? Is what remains of the plundered stock of public revenue to be employed in the wild project of maintaining two armies to watch over

PASTIMES. Skating in Hyde Park, 1780

and to fight with each other? If these are the ends and means of the Revolution Society, I admit they are well assorted; and France may furnish them for both with precedents in point.'[1]

The far-seeing statesman, poet, scholar, George Canning, a few years later (1798), expressed in another way the suspicion which the ordinary Englishman held for those people

[1] Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790. The Revolution Society, referred to in the extract given above, was founded to support the Revolution of 1688, but had become more active in the time of the French Revolution.

who preached 'rights of humanity', and despised established institutions:

Friend of Humanity.

Needy knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast; your hat has got a hole in 't;
So have your breeches!

Weary knife-grinder! little think the proud ones
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day 'Knives and
Scissors to grind O!'

Tell me, knife-grinder, how you came to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the squire or parson of the parish?
Or the attorney?

Was it the squire for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a lawsuit?

(Have you not read the 'Rights of Man', by Tom Paine?)
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.

Knife-Grinder.

Story! God bless you! I have none to tell, sir;
Only last night a-drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

Constables came up for to take me into
Custody; they took me before the Justice;
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish
Stocks for a vagrant.

I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But for my part, I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.

Friend of Humanity.

I give thee sixpence! I will see thee damned first—
Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast!

[*Kicks the knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.*][1]

The war of the French Republic against established institutions in Europe (for they openly invited peoples to throw off the rule of their monarchs) would almost certainly have drawn Britain into war; at any rate, the conquest of Belgium by the French, in 1792, made war inevitable. The English Government had guaranteed the closure of the Scheldt by the Treaty of 1789. Moreover, Britain has always felt her existence involved in the question of Belgium: the Scheldt is a fine river, Antwerp a great port, and Ostend could be made a useful naval base. Britain is an island; her safety is on the seas; and if the ports of Belgium were in the power of a great hostile State, the English coasts would never be safe. It was the French, however, not Pitt, who actually made the challenge; on February 1, 1793, they declared the state of war.

The First Coalition, 1793–5. The war of Britain upon the Continent of Europe was not highly successful till the advent of Wellington, in 1808. When Pitt entered the war, in 1793, he joined the alliance of Austria and Prussia, which Spain also joined. This was the First Coalition. A British army under the Duke of York, a son of George III, operated along with the Allies on the north-eastern frontier of France; the French Government, disorganized though it had been by many changes, showed wonderful fighting power, and not merely defended its own frontier, but pushed forward and conquered Holland. In spite of large subsidies which England gave,

[1] Canning, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, 'The Friend of Humanity, and the Knife-Grinder'.

Prussia and Austria showed signs of weakness. In 1795 Prussia made peace with France (Treaty of Basle, April 5, 1795),[1] and the First Coalition came to an end. Austria, however, helped by £4,500,000 a year from England, continued to fight with the utmost determination, while the English fleet fought the French at sea and English land forces were wasted in expeditions against the French coast. In 1797, however, Austria, unable to stand against the genius of the Republican general, Bonaparte, was forced to sign the Peace of Campo Formio.

The Second Coalition, 1798–1801. England, left to fight alone, with a rebellion in Ireland and an enormous load of debt, was able to hold her own with the French, but not to bring the war to a conclusion. Had it not been for the Navy, the whole British Empire would, of course, have gone the way of Holland, Belgium, Italy, and half of Germany, that is to say, it would have been added to the Empire which the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte was creating. In 1798 Pitt again by gigantic efforts and huge subsidies got together a coalition with Austria and Russia, but in 1800 the Austrian armies were destroyed at Marengo in North Italy and Hohenlinden in Bavaria, and the Emperor again had to make peace at Lunéville (February 1801). Russia fell away too, and at last in 1802 both France and England agreed to make peace at Amiens. The war had been inconclusive; England could not defeat France, for the Fleet cannot win wars; it can chase the enemy off the sea, but it cannot sail over the land and destroy their armies. Therefore the Peace of Amiens was recognized only as a breathing-space. Napoleon meant to be supreme in Europe, but he could not be so while England remained mistress of the sea. England meant to go on living, independent, and with her great colonial empire, but could not count upon doing so while the Napoleonic armies held the coasts of Europe, or the Channel and the Mediterranean.

[1] By this Treaty France received the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

Pitt out of office. Pitt was no longer Prime Minister when the Peace of Amiens was made. In 1800, after the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland (p. 610), he had made a great and statesmanlike effort to settle the 'Irish Question'. The Act of Union (August 2, 1800) incorporated the separate Irish Parliament in that of Great Britain. Next year Pitt intended to bring in a Catholic Relief Bill, to give the Irish Catholics full privileges as citizens. George III would not listen to this proposal, so Pitt resigned. He was succeeded by Addington (afterwards Lord Sidmouth), a man of sense but no distinction. 'Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington', so wrote the witty Canning. When war between England and France broke out again in May 1803, the whole country turned to the statesman who for eighteen years before 1801 had governed England with such dignity and strength. In April 1804 Pitt became Prime Minister for the second and last time.

The Third Coalition, 1805. The great minister at once infused his energy into all branches of the national life. The Navy was increased, the Army greatly strengthened, the war against the French in India pushed forward to a successful end (p. 650); finally, with great effort and expense, a European Coalition was established. Russia, Austria, and Sweden were ranged alongside of England to force France to evacuate Italy, Western Germany, Holland, and Belgium. Nothing on land, however, seemed able to withstand the energy and genius of Napoleon. At Ulm, on the Upper Danube, on October 19, 1805, 25,000 Austrians laid down their arms; at Austerlitz, in Moravia, two months later (December 2, 1805), nearly 50,000 Austrians and Russians were killed or made prisoners. The fabric of Pitt's European statesmanship again fell to the ground. 'Roll up that map' [of Europe] he said when the news of Austerlitz came, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' A steady decline showed itself in the health of the delicate statesman. Anxiety and trouble, the weight of fearful responsibility which he had borne almost

alone and almost continuously for twenty-two years, wore down his strength. In the last year of his life people remarked on his haggard face and drawn expression. At the time of Austerlitz he is said to have been so thin and pale that his friends scarcely recognized in him the commanding presence which had ruled the House. Yet his confidence in his country never failed. In the last public speech that he ever made, at the Guildhall on November 9, 1805, he said: 'England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.' On January 23, 1806, he died in his house at Putney, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

THE YOUNGER PITT

Looking back on it all when the dangers were over, Canning hailed in Pitt the master-mind who had kept England safe through the gigantic conflict:

> If hushed the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
> The sky if no longer loud tempests deform;
> When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep?
> No! Here 's to the Pilot that weathered the storm!
>
> And shall not his memory to Britain be dear,
> Whose example with envy all nations behold;
> A statesman unbiassed by interest or fear,
> By power uncorrupted, untainted by gold?

At the actual moment of Pitt's death, however, things seemed worse than ever. The collapse of the famous Prussian army at Jena in the same year, in October (Prussia had only joined in the war in the previous month), and the conquest of the whole of Brandenburg, made Napoleon the master

of Europe. England, bereft of her pilot, was left almost alone. Yet the Fleet held the seas and kept England and the Empire against all foes.

The naval operations. The glorious naval history of Britain was reaching its most thrilling stage. The Navy alone stood between England and Napoleon, the mightiest military power that the world had seen. Napoleon's army was always ready; flat-bottomed boats and transports existed in large numbers to convey it to the shores of England. Only 21 miles of sea intervened.

The Navy's duty was manifold. It had to seal the French fleet in the French ports, and to destroy it when it put out to sea; it had to carry the British army to the Netherlands, to Spain, to Egypt, India, Canada, Buenos Ayres. It had to stop the sea-borne trade of France. It had to watch practically every port on the Continent of Europe, for Napoleon had his hands on the foreign navies and was using them against England. Finally, the Navy had to see that England was not starved and that her foreign trade was not destroyed. Merchant ships had to be collected at certain stations to be convoyed along the appointed lanes of the sea, protected from the French privateers. The highways of the Empire had to be kept open, so that England, Canada, India, Australia, and all the islands should not be isolated from the mother country. The work of the Navy must therefore be considered not merely as a series of grand operations—the First of June, St. Vincent, the Nile, Trafalgar—but also as a long, intense, and vigilant service—the tireless ships ceaselessly patrolling the oceans of the world against all the force and all the skill of the enemy and the awful violence of the elements of nature.

Naval families. The Revolutionary Wars, so far as they took place on the sea, are filled with names of men whose fathers or sons have appeared in other years of our naval history. Though continually receiving and always welcoming new blood, the Navy has always been more hereditary than the Army. Sons indeed follow, and since the creation of the

regular Army in Charles II's reign, have always followed, their fathers in the Army. But distinction has not run in families. In the Navy it is otherwise. There are families which can count son after son of distinguished naval officers, rising not through hereditary influence (though that indeed does not stand in their way), but through hard work inspired by the force of the family tradition. In the logs of the ships engaged in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars will be found the names of Howe, Hood, Troubridge, Parker—names which appear in the later history of England.

Lord Howe. Admiral Richard Howe was the second of three distinguished brothers. The father of the three, Emmanuel, 2nd Viscount Howe, had been Governor of Barbados. The eldest brother, George, the 3rd Viscount, was killed at Ticonderoga in 1758. The second brother was Richard, the admiral. The third was Sir William Howe, the general who won the battle of Bunker's Hill.

Richard was born in 1726, and went to sea with Commodore Anson at the age of 14, and took part in the great voyage round the world (p. 458). In 1755 he was a captain in Boscawen's West India squadron. It was he who opened the great war with France in Canadian waters by capturing the French warship *Alcide*. In the War of American Independence his most distinguished action was the relief of Gibraltar in 1782. From 1783 to 1788 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1794 he was given command of the Channel Fleet. He was then 69 years old.

The First of June. By May 1794 the French Republic had to a certain extent refitted the old Royal Navy of France. A powerful squadron was convoying grain ships from the United States; a large fleet was in Brest. Howe was given the difficult task of blockading the fleet in Brest and intercepting the great convoy from the United States. To accomplish both tasks together was impossible, so he stood out to the Atlantic to meet the convoy, reckoning that the Brest fleet would come out and that he would destroy it too. He was following the good old rule to seek out the enemy's fleet,

where it could be brought to action. The French were following their fighting instructions too—they were manœuvring to defend their convoy and to get it safe to port.

It was under such conditions that the battle of the First of June took place out in the Atlantic, west of Belleisle. The Brest fleet and the convoying squadron effected a junction. On May 29 a sharp action was fought. It was renewed again on June 1. The veteran Admiral Howe showed the vigour and elasticity of his mind. The old Fighting Instructions of James II had said (Article XVI) :

'In all cases of fight with the enemy the commanders of his majesty's ships are to keep the fleet in one line and (as much as may be) to preserve that order of battle, which they have been directed to keep, before the time of fight.'

According to this Instruction, the admirals (except Rodney) had been accustomed to range their fleet in a continuous line against the enemy, and to trust to hard shooting to do the rest, ship against ship. Howe took another course ; like Rodney, he planned to attack the resisting French : to bear down upon their centre in line of battle ahead, to break their line, and then to change his formation as circumstances required. His main object was to break through their line and then to cut off their retreat. The manœuvre was executed with success. The French were brought to action ; their line broken, their ships raked with salvoes of gunfire, and then, cut off from retreat, engaged ship for ship. The ships with the grand old names did their work : the *Royal Sovereign*, the *Barfleur*, the *Impregnable*, the *Bellerophon*, the *Thunderer*. The action began at half-past nine in the morning. By two o'clock it was over. The French fleet was maimed and dispersed, and six great ships left in English hands : the *Achille, America, Impétueux, Juste, Northumberland, Sans Pareil.* The French convoy of grain ships, on the other hand, sailed safely to Brest, so that Howe failed in his main object.

This was the last battle of 'Black Dick' Howe. He died in 1799, after settling the mutiny at Spithead (p. 559).

St. Vincent. The French knew that if they could bring England to her knees, the European resistance would collapse. So, very properly, they argued that England must be invaded, and that being a comparatively weak military power she would probably succumb. In December 1796 a great expedition under General Hoche was dispersed by a storm when it was attempting an invasion of Ireland. By 1797 the French had got control of the Dutch and Spanish Fleets ; if these could be joined with the Brest Fleet, the English Navy might be defeated, and the great French Army brought across the Channel.

In February 1797 the Spanish Fleet was sailing north from Cartagena in the south-east of Spain to join the Brest Fleet. It numbered 27 great ships, badly equipped and badly manned. Admiral John Jervis, with fifteen ships of the line, all heavily armed, from the *Victory* (his flagship) with 100 guns, to the *Diadem* with 64 guns, waited for them off Cape St. Vincent; Nelson was in the *Captain*, with 94 guns. On February 14, 1797, the Spaniards were sighted, in two divisions, sailing parallel with each other. Jervis bore down upon them from the opposite direction. His ships, one behind the other, passed between the two Spanish divisions, giving the Spaniards both broadsides as they passed. So the English and Spanish Fleets, sailing in opposite directions, would have passed each other. But Commodore Nelson, with the *Captain*, thirteenth in the line, wheeled his ship and headed off the Spaniards, who were trying to sail away round the rear of the British ships. The manœuvre was brilliantly successful. For a short time he had to fight the Spanish Fleet all alone, but he gained time for Jervis to bring up the rest of the ships, and to finish off the action. Four Spanish ships were captured, and the rest dispersed. There was no chance of their joining the Brest Fleet, and so the French Army could not be convoyed to England.

Camperdown. In 1797 Vice-Admiral Duncan was watching the mouth of the Texel. Holland, under the name of the Batavian Republic, was a dependency of France. The Dutch

Fleet was to be used with the Brest Fleet to bring about an invasion of England. In October Duncan had to put back to Yarmouth to refit, leaving some light frigates to watch the Texel. On October 3 the Dutch—15 battleships and 12 frigates—left the Texel and swept across nearly to Lowestoft. Whatever the intention of their admiral, de Winter, may have been, it was clearly not to meet the English Fleet. For when Duncan, warned by his scouts, having left Yarmouth, came in sight of the Dutch, they put about and made for their own coast. The British admiral, however, had the wind favouring him; with great decision he bore straight down upon the Dutch Fleet, broke its line, and destroyed a great part of it in the *mêlée* (October 11). The Dutch sailors fought well; their manœuvring was not particularly good, but their gun-fire was excellent. The battle lasted from about 12.30 p.m. to 3 o'clock. Eleven Dutch ships were disabled; the British ships, too, were somewhat severely handled, and had about 1,000 casualties in the crews. But the Dutch naval power was practically destroyed, and the schemes of the French for invading England were once more brought to naught. The battle has been called Camperdown, after a tract of dunes on the north coast of Holland.

The personnel of the Navy. The year 1797, distinguished as it was by the great sea-fights of St. Vincent and Camperdown, was a year of mutiny and disaffection in the Navy. The crews who endured the ceaseless buffeting of wind and wave in the wearisome and arduous blockades, the men who heroically stood by their guns when the ships were burning and the decks were a welter of blood, were made of very mixed material. Some were men who took to the Navy because they liked the sea and liked the service; but these were comparatively few. Others were 'quota-men', the number of men that each county of the kingdom was bound by law to supply. The rest were 'pressed' men, sailors caught ashore or taken off merchant ships, and forced to serve. Frequently the wrong sort of men were pressed, either by mistake or because

no better could be found. The quota-men sent by the counties were such as could be got—often convicts or ne'er-do-wells, who were thus put conveniently out of the way. The pay was poor—25*s.* a month—although a merchant seaman could earn £4 to £5 a month; moreover, it was only paid at the end of a voyage. If one voyage rapidly succeeded another, the men might be without pay for as much as ten years, and their wives and children were left to starve. The pay was given by tickets, which the men had to cash at the Admiralty offices. Rather than go through the official formalities, the men or their poor wives would often sell the tickets to tradesmen for about half their value. The food was bad, and the Admiralty did not provide vegetables, even in port, to keep away the awful scourge of scurvy. The Navy was only held together by a sort of affection for the sea and for the service which even the convicts and miserable pressed landsmen somehow came to feel, and by the discipline and smartness which the able officers maintained. The superior officers were men of education and good character, who had been bred to the sea, and who could take risks and deal with men. The warrant officers were the pick of the able seamen, and formed a permanent body of men, who could keep almost any kind of ship and any crew in order.

Spithead. Spithead is a channel between the Isle of Wight and the mainland, and forms part of the Portsmouth anchorages. On April 16, 1797, Admiral Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, was about to put to sea, hoping to meet the Brest Fleet, when the ships in Spithead anchorage mutinied. The crews remained perfectly quiet and orderly, but they refused to set sail. They asked that their pay might be raised to 1*s.* a day, and that they should get it regularly. The demands were reasonable, and the times were desperate. The Admiralty granted their requests, and promised a free pardon. Here the dispute should have ended. Delays took place, however, in carrying out the promises. The men grew suspicious, thought they were being cheated, and mutinied again. This time they seized some of the officers, although

without using them violently. This second mutiny, which began on May 6, 1797, was only settled when the Admiralty sent down ' Black Dick ' Howe (Admiral Lord Howe), the hero of the First of June, a popular man with all the sailors. He soon showed the men that the Admiralty were quite honest, if slow, and that their grievances were being redressed. Then they put to sea loyally.

The Nore. The next mutiny was a different affair. It was not a question of hard-fighting seamen asking that at least they might get the pay which was due to them. It was a revolutionary agitation got up by a man of the worst character. Richard Parker had once been a gentleman, and had started in the Navy as a midshipman. He had been dismissed from his ship for immorality, and later had been ' broken ' by court-martial for insubordination. He turned up in the Navy in 1797, as a quota-man for Perth, after having led the usual chequered life of a broken gentleman, including a term in prison. When Duncan was watching the Texel, in May 1797, Parker was in the *Sandwich*, one of the battleships in the anchorage at the Nore, a sandbank in the mouth of the Thames. He stirred up the bad elements (the convicts, weaker pressed men, and others) to seize the ship. The spirit of the French Revolution was in the air. Some of the secret revolutionary societies which had been formed in England had probably been working among the men. The terrible spirit of disaffection arose. Most of Duncan's ships actually deserted him, and sailed to the Nore to join the mutineers.

The Admiralty treated the Nore mutiny differently from that at Spithead. The Spithead sailors were grumblers and grossly insubordinate. Unfortunately, they had real evils to complain of; fortunately, they were at heart loyal, never dreamed of avoiding fight with the French, and despised the Nore mutineers heartily (for the two mutinies overlapped in point of time). The Nore mutineers were seditious revolutionaries, denying the authority of their officers, and deserting gladly in the face of the enemy. The Admiralty would not

deal with them except on conditions of surrender, and though England was in danger of invasion, trusted to the Channel Fleet to keep the French Fleet shut up in Brest, and to Duncan and his squadron to block the Texel. They sent Admiral Keith, with the few ships available, to blockade the Nore. Ships without officers are useless, and no crews like to be without the leaders they have learned to obey and respect. Gradually the spirit of the mutineers was broken. Ship after ship returned to her allegiance. A few examples were made, and Parker was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich*. The Mutiny at the Nore was the first and last political outbreak in the Navy since the days of Charles I.

Nelson. Horatio Nelson was born on September 29, 1758, at the parsonage house, Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk. His father, the rector of the parish, had eleven children, of whom eight survived. Nelson's great-grandmother was a sister of Sir Robert Walpole. The boy, who was always rather delicate, went to a private school at North Walsham as a boarder. In the holidays he lived the life of a country boy, always out of doors, either walking or riding. His father had only a small income on which to bring up his large family. To make things easier, Horatio, when he was twelve years old, asked to be allowed to go to sea. His uncle, Captain Suckling, offered to take him on the *Raisonnable*, 64 guns. So in 1770 the rector took Horatio as far as London, then put him on the Chatham stage to travel alone. The boy got off with his box at Chatham, and wandered helplessly about the docks till a passing naval officer took compassion on him, and first gave him something to eat, and then conducted him to Captain Suckling. This was not a cheerful introduction to the service, but many delicate and friendless boys have since suffered similar discouraging experiences when first left alone on the deck of the *Britannia* training-ship.

Nelson's next voyage was in a merchantman to the West Indies. He returned with a thorough, if temporary, dislike of sailoring. Many boys on going to sea, finding that it means

hardship and discomfort instead of romance and glory, have felt the same depression, and longed to get out of the service. It seems to be a phase in the development of most, if not of all, good sailors, a phase which they must resolutely set themselves to overcome.

In 1773 Nelson went on an Admiralty expedition to the Arctic regions. He showed his intrepidity by attacking a bear single-handed, with the butt-end of his musket. Fortunately, the men of the ship frightened away the animal by firing a gun.

At the age of eighteen he was still only a midshipman, on the *Seahorse*, 20 guns, on the East Indian station. He spent one and a half years there under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, but he missed the important operations which Hughes afterwards conducted against the distinguished French Admiral, Bailli de Suffren (p. 636). Nelson had left England stout and ruddy faced. He came back from the East Indies pale and thin, and never seems to have recovered any robustness of constitution. On the voyage home he was more gloomy than ever :

'I felt impressed', said he, 'with a feeling that I should never rise in my profession. My mind was staggered with a view of the difficulties I had to surmount, and the little interest I possessed. I could discover no means of reaching the object of my ambition. After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me, and presented my king and country as my patron. "Well, then," I exclaimed, "I will be a hero! and, confiding in Providence, I will brave every danger!"'[1]

This was the important point in his career. His resolution was taken and he had no more doubts. He passed his lieutenant's examination in 1777, and went out to the West Indian station under Admiral Sir Peter Parker. In 1779, when still only twenty years old, he was rated post-captain. This course of rapid promotion began with the distinguished examination which he passed as lieutenant. To the end of

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*.

his life Nelson was a student, carefully learning everything about his profession, and also perfecting himself in the French language and in history. The three qualities which he showed at this time, and which attracted the attention of all his superior officers, were his studiousness, his perfect fearlessness, and the winning simplicity of his manner. In addition to these fine qualities, he had the rarer gift which all men recognize and trust in—genius. Nelson's genius lay in his power of seeing what ought to be done in the critical moment of a naval action. He always seized the occasion, which a moment's delay would have let slip.

Nelson's character was far from perfect. On some sides it was deplorably weak, and no one can excuse his treatment of his wife or the fatal attachment, to which he clung till death, to the disreputable Lady Hamilton. Yet he was a good man, devoted to his duty, worshipped by his subordinates, honourable in his dealings, perfectly unselfish in his readiness to sacrifice himself, at all periods of his career, for his country. With all his faults he was great, fearless, unselfish. No man ever had warmer friends: Troubridge, Collingwood, Hardy, Samuel Hood, Sir Peter Parker, and Prince William (afterwards King William IV), are only a few of his messmates or superior officers who loved him to the end.

The French Revolutionary War. When the war with France began, in 1793, Nelson was given command of the *Agamemnon*, 64 guns. During this period, except for nine months at home in 1797–8, recovering from the loss of his arm, he was continuously on active service. In 1794 he co-operated on land with a naval brigade in the reduction of Corsica, and at the capture of Calvi lost his right eye. The island was evacuated in 1796. In 1797, after a long period of service in the Mediterranean, Nelson fought under Jervis in the great battle of St. Vincent (p. 557). After the battle he remained with the blockading fleet off Cadiz. In July 1797 he was sent on a very risky expedition, to cut out a Spanish treasure-ship from the harbour of Santa Cruz. The enterprise was detected by the

Spaniards, and repulsed with heavy loss. Nelson was shot through the elbow: an unskilled ship's surgeon made a bad job of the amputation, and he spent a long and painful convalescence in the lodging which he took with his wife in London, in Bond Street. By December (1797) he was able to get about again:

'Not having been in England till now since he lost his eye, he went to receive a year's pay, as smart money; but could not obtain payment because he had neglected to bring a certificate from a surgeon that the sight was actually destroyed. A little irritated that this form should be insisted upon, because, though the fact was not apparent, he thought it was sufficiently notorious, he procured a certificate at the same time for the loss of his arm; saying they might just as well doubt one as the other. This put him in a good humour with himself, and with the clerk who had offended him. On his return to the office, the clerk, finding it was only the annual pay of a captain, observed, he thought it had been more. "Oh," replied Nelson, "this is only for an eye. In a few days I shall come for an arm; and in a little time longer, God knows, most probably for a leg." Accordingly he soon afterwards went,—and with perfect good humour exhibited the certificate for the loss of his arm.'[1]

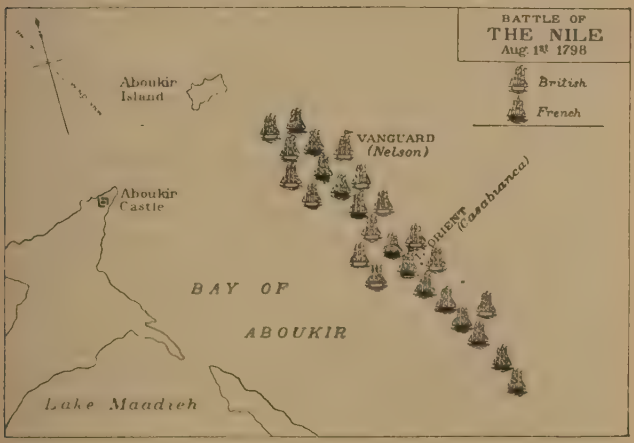
The Nile. Early in 1798, Nelson, only forty years old, was promoted to rear-admiral, and hoisted his flag in the *Vanguard*, 74 guns, off Cadiz. This was a most critical year for England and the Empire. Napoleon Bonaparte had conceived the design of striking at England in the East. He chose Egypt, which even then (although not in English control) might be called the 'Spine of the Empire'. Having conquered Egypt from its degenerate Turkish masters, he was going to proceed through Palestine and Mesopotamia, like another Alexander, to India.

It was known that a great French expedition was being fitted out at Toulon, though its destination was still in the dark. The French Fleet slipped out of Toulon, when a storm had driven Nelson back to Sardinia. He swept through the Medi-

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*, ch. iv.

terranean to Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Alexandria, back and forth. At last his frigates found the French Fleet in the Bay of Alexandria, on August 1, 1798.

On July 1 Bonaparte had begun disembarking his army at Alexandria. On July 21 he had defeated the Egyptians at the battle of the Pyramids, and on the 25th had occupied Cairo. Thus all Egypt had fallen before him, and Syria was likely soon to follow.



The French were anchored in the bay, arranged in a slightly curving line from NW. to SSE. They had thirteen battleships, the largest—Admiral Brueys' flagship, the *Orient*—carrying 110 guns. The other ships were either 80 guns or 'seventy-fours'. Nelson, when he commenced the action, had ten seventy-fours and one fifty. They were all, however, in much better condition than the French ships, for the French Government spent most of its money on the Army.

Nelson sighted the French Fleet at 2 p.m. on August 1, and resolved to sail straight forward and attack it. The action

began at 6 p.m., just as the sun was sinking out of sight behind the horizon. With the wind blowing from the NW., the British ships bore down in line of battle ahead. The French ships were anchored at distances of about 3,000 to 6,000 yards from land—in about seven fathoms. To the surprise of their officers, the leading British ship, the *Goliath*, 74, Captain Foley, sailed inside, between the first French ship and the shore, and let go her anchor. The next British ship, the *Zealous*, likewise passed in between the French line and the shore, and came to anchor. The next three ships did the same. The shoreward batteries of the French ships were apparently not prepared for immediate action. The five British ships gave them broadside after broadside, while Nelson, with the other six, from the sea side, discharged equally effective salvoes. As there were more French than English ships, Nelson's captains had to pass along the enemy line, to engage each ship in succession. In doing so they suffered considerable losses, but forced one French ship after another to strike her flag. The *Orient*, beset on both sides, fought heroically. The admiral was killed; her decks covered with dead and dying. At 10 p.m. she was burning furiously, and her flames lit up the bay against the blackness of the night. Amid this awful bonfire the crew could be seen still fighting the guns, while the British ships stood off and raked her. At 10.15 p.m., with a fearful roar, the great ship blew up. The English boats which were lowered for the purpose saved about 70 of her crew. Her captain, Casa-Bianca, and his ten-year-old son, were seen for a moment struggling in the water, and then lost. The boy's simple heroism is commemorated in Mrs. Hemans's poem.

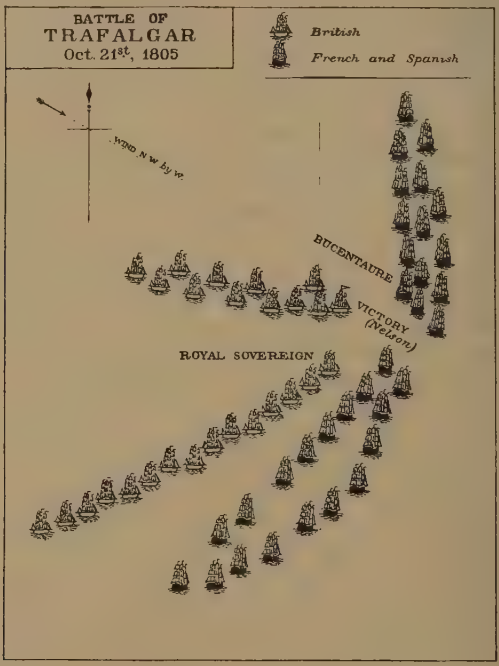
The victory of the Nile (or Aboukir) was complete. Only two French battleships and two frigates escaped, under Admiral Villeneuve, who was spared to suffer another disaster at Trafalgar. The Egyptian expedition of Bonaparte was ruined, for without the control of the sea between Egypt and France he could never make a success of it. The campaign of Syria was

indeed pushed forward, till the unsuccessful siege of Acre (March–May 1799) turned him back. The defence by the Turks of this town was organized under Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's younger officers. In August 1799 Bonaparte himself left Egypt, and got safely back to France. In March 1801 a British army was landed at Alexandria, under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. In the battle which followed the general lost his life, but the French power in Egypt was completely destroyed.

The interval. The battle of the Nile ended the greatest and most glorious period of Nelson's naval career. Then followed an interval, at the end of which was to come the final effort, the magnificent action off Cape Trafalgar, the best known of the Navy's battles. The interval between the Nile and Trafalgar was partly occupied with operations round Sicily. During this time Nelson and the Mediterranean Fleet restored the kingdom of Naples, which had been for a time a French dependency. He also fell in love with Lady Hamilton, the wife of the British minister in Sicily. The King of Naples made Nelson Duke of Bronte, with a fine estate in Sicily, where the English admiral proved a kind and beneficent landlord to the hitherto badly-treated peasants.

In 1801 Russia, Sweden, and Denmark formed the Armed Neutrality of the North, to resist the restraints which Britain put upon sea-borne trade with France. To deal with this, a fleet was sent under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second-in-command, to the Baltic. On April 2, after a short defence made by the Danes, the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen was seized. Colonel William Stewart, who commanded the troops and who was present on Nelson's ship, tells in his account of the battle how Admiral Parker wished to break it off in the middle, and so hoisted signal No. 39 ('leave off action'). *Now damn me if I do*, said Nelson; and then to Foley, his Captain, *You know, Foley, I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes.* 'And then', adds Stewart, 'with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass

to his blind eye, he exclaimed, *I really do not see the signal.*'[1] Campbell's fine ballad, 'The Battle of the Baltic,' commemorates the victory.



Trafalgar. From 1803 to 1805 Nelson was engaged in the Mediterranean, in the war which broke out between France and Britain soon after the Peace of Amiens (p. 550). Pitt had formed his last coalition against France (p. 552). Napoleon was carrying on his great designs for the invasion of England or Ireland, and at the same time was taking steps,

[1] Quoted in Mahan, *The Life of Nelson* (1898), ii. 90.

which were completely successful, to crush Austria. His naval plan was that Admiral Villeneuve, with the Toulon Fleet, should sail for the West Indies, capture Jamaica, revictual and reinforce the French garrisons, and then return to European waters. Meanwhile, the Brest Fleet was to transport an army to Ireland. Spain had been brought over to the French side, and the addition of her fleet and her ports to the Napoleonic cause made it impossible for the British Navy to blockade all the enemies' fleets effectively. Accordingly, in April 1805, Villeneuve, with the Toulon Fleet, was able to sail across the Atlantic to the West Indies. The English Government was glad to hear he had gone, for they feared he might have joined the Brest Fleet and descended upon England. Nelson was sent to bring him to battle, or to chase him out of West Indian waters (June 1805). At Trinidad he learned that Villeneuve had sailed back again to Spain. So he, too, returned, and in August was once more in the English Channel.

Napoleon knew he could deal with Austria (as he did, most effectively, at Ulm on October 19, and at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805). To deal with England, however, was not so easy. He could not get his all-conquering army across the Channel without destroying the British Fleet. So he gave Villeneuve an order never before issued, namely, to meet the British Fleet and to engage it, thus staking his whole chance of invading England upon one sea-battle. Nelson gladly accepted the challenge, and that one sea-battle rendered impossible for ever Napoleon's great design.

On September 15 Nelson sailed from Spithead in the *Victory*, 100 guns, Captain Thomas Hardy. He picked up various units on the way, and in October, with 27 fine ships—100 guns, ninety-eights, seventy-fours, and sixty-fours—he was ready to meet Villeneuve's 33 mixed French and Spanish ships. On October 21, off Cape Trafalgar, the two fleets met, both sailing in the same direction, south. The British Fleet bore down upon the Franco-Spanish line in two columns, the northern under Nelson, leading in the *Victory*, the southern under

Collingwood, leading in the *Royal Sovereign*. As they approached the Spanish fleet, the ships in each English column began to spread out in line abreast, so that each could single out a Spanish ship for its object. This formation could only be partially carried into effect, and the English Fleet came against the enemy's in no particular order. At 12.5 midday,

NELSON

the admiral sent up the flag-signal, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' Nelson himself had quietly made a codicil to his will consigning Lady Hamilton to his king and country. This document, written with his own hand in the cabin of the *Victory*, can be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. Then he went on to the quarter-deck, a striking one-armed figure, with his long fair hair, his high pale brow, his noble, commanding features. He was carefully dressed in a blue tail-coat, with the stars of his Orders on the breast.

The coat was buttoned at the neck, but fell away open on either side, showing a white vest. The knee-breeches were

H.M.S. VICTORY[1]

white, and he wore white silk stockings, and black shoes with silver buckles. On his head was a blue cocked hat. The coat and stockings, and breeches—slit up both legs by scissors to remove them easily from the wounded hero—are in the Painted

[1] Bone model made by French prisoners in the hulks.

Hall. He was standing on the quarter-deck calmly directing the battle, when a bullet struck him :

' It had been part of Nelson's prayer, that the British Fleet might be distinguished by humanity in the victory which he expected. Setting an example himself, he twice gave orders to cease firing upon the *Redoubtable*, supposing that she had struck, because her great guns were silent ; for, as she carried no flag, there was no means of instantly ascertaining the fact. From this ship, which he had thus twice spared, he received his death. A ball fired from her mizen-top, which, in the then situation of the two vessels, was not more than fifteen yards from that part of the deck where he was standing, struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, about a quarter after one, just in the heat of action. He fell upon his face, on the spot which was covered with his poor secretary's blood. Hardy, who was a few steps from him, turning round, saw three men raising him up.—" They have done for me at last, Hardy," said he.—" I hope not," cried Hardy.—" Yes," he replied ; " my backbone is shot through." Yet, even now, not for a moment losing his presence of mind, he observed, as they were carrying him down the ladder, that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away, were not yet replaced, and ordered that new ones should be rove immediately. Then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he took out his handkerchief, and covered his face and his stars. Had he but concealed these badges of honour from the enemy, England, perhaps, would not have had cause to receive with sorrow the news of the battle of Trafalgar. The cockpit was crowded with wounded and dying men, over whose bodies he was with some difficulty conveyed, and laid upon a pallet in the midshipmen's berth. It was soon perceived, upon examination, that the wound was mortal. This, however, was concealed from all except Capt. Hardy, the chaplain, and the medical attendants. He himself being certain, from the sensation in his back and the gush of blood he felt momently within his breast, that no human care could avail him, insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful ; " for," said he, " you can do nothing for me." All that could be done was to fan him with paper, and frequently to give him lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. He was in great pain and expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which now began to declare itself. As often as a ship struck, the crew of the *Victory* hurraed ; and at every hurra a visible

expression of joy gleamed in the eyes and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Capt. Hardy; and as that officer, though often sent for, could not leave the deck, Nelson feared that some fatal cause prevented him, and repeatedly cried: "Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed! He is surely dead!" An hour and ten minutes elapsed, from the time when Nelson received his wound, before Hardy could come to him. They shook hands in silence, Hardy in vain struggling to suppress the feelings of that most painful and yet sublimest moment. "Well, Hardy," said Nelson, "How goes the day with us?"—"Very well," replied Hardy; "ten ships have struck, but five of the van have tacked, and show an inclination to bear down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."—"I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck?" Hardy answered "There was no fear of that". Then, and not till then, Nelson spoke of himself. "I am a dead man, Hardy," said he; "I am going fast—it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair and all other things belonging to me." Hardy observed, that he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life. "Oh no!" he replied, "it is impossible. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Capt. Hardy then, once more, shook hands with him; and with a heart almost bursting, hastened upon deck.'[1]

Nelson saw Hardy again just before the end of the action. The admiral asked his friend to kiss him, and then was heard to say, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

When Nelson died, twenty of the enemies' ships had struck their flag.

Tilsit. The battle of Trafalgar destroyed French power on the sea. Even before this happened, however, Napoleon had given up his plan at that time of invading England (or perhaps Ireland, which, according to Admiral Collingwood, was his objective). The blockade maintained by Collingwood off Cadiz, by Calder off Ferrol, and by Cornwallis off Brest, convinced the Emperor that he must seek other game; and after hearing of the check which Sir Robert Calder had

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*.

inflicted on Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre on July 22 (1805), he betook himself with his great expeditionary force to Austria (August). The capitulation of Ulm (October), the entrance of the French into Vienna (November), the rout of the Austro-Russian armies at Austerlitz (December), followed in rapid succession.

But though baulked of all chance to conquer Britain, Napoleon had a wide enough field for his ambition in the rest of Europe. The year 1806 saw Prussia brought to his feet

A MARTELLO TOWER. Built as a defence against Napoleon

by the battles of Jena and Auerstadt; and in November Napoleon dictated from Berlin itself the famous Decrees, excluding all British commerce from the Continent. Next year, 1807, came the defeat of the re-formed Russian armies at Friedland (July), followed by the Peace of Tilsit, made between the Tsar Alexander and Napoleon (July 7, 1807). The two monarchs agreed on certain territorial cessions and rearrangements; to divide Britain's Eastern possessions; and to force Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to join against her.

Copenhagen. During 1806–7 a 'Ministry of All the Talents', under Lord Grenville, was carrying on the government; but

before the Treaty of Tilsit was made, Grenville had fallen, and his place as Prime Minister was taken by the Duke of Portland. Under him George Canning was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Castlereagh Secretary for War. Canning, by some means which are not known, learned of the secret terms of the Peace of Tilsit, and at once resolved on a daring act. He sent the British Fleet to the Baltic, to demand and to receive the surrender of the whole Danish Fleet, which Napoleon (by the secret Tilsit agreement) meant to seize and use against England. The demand was refused

MEDALS STRUCK IN ADVANCE BY NAPOLEON to commemorate the invasion of England

by the Danes, whose capital was thereupon bombarded. After a brave defence, they were forced to surrender all their warships. The news of this swift act of the British Government staggered Napoleon, and upset all his plans for bringing England to bay: the seizure of the Danish Fleet, in fact, destroyed the whole Tilsit scheme, and robbed France of the fruits of her sacrifices, and Russia of the fruits of her perfidy. The memory of Canning's stroke has remained an inspiration for British statesmen, and a cause of uneasiness to foreign schemers: that is what the German Emperor William II meant a hundred years later, when he told Admiral

Sir John Fisher that he suspected the British Admiralty of meaning *to Copenhagen the German Fleet!*

Failure of the Continental System. After 1807 Napoleon's chances of accomplishing anything against England on the sea were hopeless. His famous Continental System, inaugurated by the Berlin Decrees, only destroyed the commerce of the States which submitted to the system, for they lost the benefit of the English shipping. The commerce of the British, on the other hand, all over the Empire was never interrupted, and the British Navy was able to strike in all directions and to convey troops to Holland, to Portugal, to Italy, to India, to South America, wherever they were wanted.

CHAPTER XXVI

WELLINGTON

When Pitt died, in 1806, there was indeed no statesman with genius such as his, but there were strong sensible men like Lord Castlereagh, determined on continuing his policy. There was, moreover, a great soldier, who had risen to fame in the Indian Empire of Britain.

Wellington's early career. Arthur Wellesley was born in Ireland on May 1, 1769. Little is known of his boyhood, and no record has been kept even of the place of his birth. He was born either in his father's Dublin house, 24 Upper Merrion Street, or in his country seat, Dangan Castle, County Meath. His father was an Irish peer, Earl Mornington, and the family, which till 1790 spelled its name Wesley, was distantly connected with John Wesley, the great evangelical preacher. Arthur was sent to Eton : nothing is known of his school-days, but he remained afterwards, like every one who has been there, fond and proud of the old school. From Eton, probably about the year 1784, he was sent to a military school at Angers, in Anjou, in NW. France. His parents intended him for a military

career, and determined to give him the best possible education for it. England had no military schools, while there were several half-official, half-private colleges in France. The Angers school was kept by a nobleman of the 'Ancien Régime', who was an old Engineer officer, the Marquis de Pignerol. The engineering side was the best branch of the French Army, and it may be assumed that Wellington learned to take the profession of arms seriously under the veteran marquis. The only thing, however, which has come down to history concerning Wellington's days at the Angers Military Academy is that he had a terrier called Vick, which followed him about everywhere. In 1787 he was entered as an ensign in the 73rd Highlanders (2nd Battalion, Black Watch), and subsequently passed through various grades in other regiments. As a matter of fact, he appears not to have served at all with any of these regiments. Being a young man of position and influence, he spent all his time in honorary posts on the staff of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He became major in the 33rd Foot (West Riding), and in 1793 purchased the position of Lieutenant-Colonel of it, his eldest brother, Earl Mornington, his close friend and associate, advancing him the purchase-money. In this and the following year he saw active service in the Duke of York's army in the Low Countries. In 1796 he went to India with his regiment. Shortly afterwards, Earl Mornington became Governor-General; he at once promoted Arthur to responsible military offices.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Soldierly studies. Arthur Wellesley is an instance of a

young man, advanced by family influence and wealth, who yet was modest, sensible, laborious, and conscientious. Becoming lieutenant-colonel before he had gained regimental experience, he thoroughly studied all the routine and all the technique of a regiment, and acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the British soldier. He knew everything that a commander should know about kit, rations, and arms. He studied how to move troops in peace and war; so that as no commander was ever more strict towards his soldiers, none was ever more just and considerate. There was no plundering in Wellington's army, no indiscipline. Recruited from the most unmanageable materials in England, the troops that followed him through the Peninsular War gained the highest reputation, both for fighting qualities and for behaviour.

Indian career. Wellington's Indian career should be studied in the two stout volumes of the *Wellesley Dispatches*—the brilliant reports of his brother, the Governor-General—and the *Wellington Dispatches*—his own solid contributions to Indian statesmanship and military history.[1] He was the close associate and confidant of his brother, to whom he gave the most admirable counsel concerning the Settlement of Mysore (p. 648), the Mahratta territory, and other matters. With all the natives whom he met, Wellington acted openly and honourably; and he established over them the ascendancy of a strong, honest character, and of a penetrating mind. He counted one of the Mahratta statesmen (Purneah) as his personal friend, and worked loyally and cheerfully with him as may be read in the Dispatches.

The chief event in Wellington's military career in India was the Mahratta War, 1803–5. The Mahratta Confederacy was a powerful collection of States in the west of India. Their soldiers were trained by French officers, and they had a fine corps of artillery. One part of the Mahrattas was allied with the English, but two States, those of the great chiefs Sindia and Holkar, were against us. In August 1803 war began

[1] They are edited by S. J. Owen (Oxford University Press, 1877, 1880).

between these chiefs and the English. Wellington, with 4,500 British soldiers and 5,000 Sepoys, crossed the Godavery. His forces were small, but they were perfectly appointed, for Wellington never moved without a complete organization of supply, bullock-carts, water-carriers, and so forth. On September 23, before Assaye, he confronted Sindia, who had 10,000 infantry, 30,000 horse, and 100 guns. Wellington attacked, and after the hardest fight in Indian history (he lost between one-third and one-half of his men), he routed the great army opposed to him. A second victory at Argaum two months later destroyed the power of Sindia's ally, the Raja of Nagpore. The conquest of the Mahratta States was finished by General Lake's victory at Laswari. Early in 1805 Wellington quitted India, having already, at the age of 36, established his reputation as one of the most distinguished soldiers in the Empire.

The Peninsular War. In 1808 Napoleon, who had made himself Emperor of the French, deposed the degenerate King of Spain, Charles IV, and his son, Ferdinand. Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was made King of Spain, to hold it as part of the French Empire. This extension of the French Empire into Spain was in the end to ruin Napoleon. For, as the British Navy commanded the sea ever since the battle of Trafalgar, England could send troops to the Peninsula, and could wage a war, first in Portugal and afterwards in Spain, which exhausted Napoleon's resources and ended with the invasion of France by Wellington.

In August 1808 Wellington landed at Mondego Bay in Portugal, with 9,000 men. Portugal had been invaded by a French army in 1807, and the Portuguese royal family had sailed across the Atlantic to Brazil. Lisbon was occupied by the French. But Portugal was (as she still is) allied with England by a treaty of 1661, and England was bound to come and help her. Wellington's first task was, therefore, to drive the French out of Portugal.

The Convention of Cintra. Two battles, Roliça and Vimeiro

(August 1808), sufficed to make General Junot agree to evacuate Portugal with the French Army. A new commander-in-chief, Sir Hew Dalrymple, came to Portugal, and concluded the Convention of Cintra (August 30, 1808), which allowed the French to return free to France. The poet Wordsworth wrote a long pamphlet against the Convention.

Wellington left Portugal in September (1808), and went to England. He returned in April 1809, having in the meantime

resumed the position (which he had occupied before first going to Portugal) of M.P. for Rye and Chief Secretary for Ireland. While he was in England Sir John Moore had died in action, defeating the French at the battle of Corunna (January 16, 1809), at the end of his great retreat.

Walcheren. It was shortly after this (April) that Wellington was sent back to the Peninsula. The time was propitious for a great effort against the Napoleonic Empire ; for Austria, which had been so often defeated, and had so often risen again, was once more throwing down the gauntlet. To help the Austrian effort, the British Government equipped a fine

expeditionary force, which, had it gone to the Peninsula, would have made Wellington's success possible at a much earlier date. The force was sent to attack Antwerp, which was then the chief naval arsenal in French hands. On July 28 (1809) a large fleet, with 41,000 men commanded by the Earl of Chatham (elder brother of the younger Pitt), sailed for the mouth of the Scheldt; but the expedition never got farther than the Island of Walcheren, and lost time and men in the siege of Flushing, which was captured on August 16. The commander-in-chief was a slow, methodical man, not wholly incapable; he wished to make everything secure on the way, before he should advance up the Scheldt to Antwerp. But when at length he prepared to start again at the end of August, Antwerp had been reinforced and was impregnable.

The Earl of Chatham with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strahan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

NAPOLEON

Sir Richard Strahan was the admiral in command of the ships. The verses, which were made at the time and represented popular opinion in England, are a little unjust to the leaders. They did some fighting and accomplished something, but they might have done a great deal more. The expedition was meant as a diversion in favour of Austria, but the Austrian Army had been signally defeated by Napoleon at Wagram (July 6), three weeks before Lord Chatham's expedition had left England. If the Austrians had only continued the struggle after Wagram, the Walcheren Expedition would have been of the highest value. As matters stood, however, it only prevented Wellington from getting much needed reinforcements in Portugal, while it did not engage a sufficiently

large number of French soldiers in the Low Countries to make the great expenditure of men and treasure worth while. In its great possibilities, its comparatively small success, and its enormous sacrifices, it may be compared to the Gallipoli Expedition of 1915.

Torres Vedras. When Wellington returned to Portugal for the second time, he came as British commander-in-chief in the Peninsula. His first task was to drive the French out of Oporto (for they had invaded Portugal again). Then he advanced into Spain, up the Tagus valley, and defeated King Joseph Bonaparte near Madrid, at Talavera (July 27, 1809). There was, however, another French army, under Marshal Soult, coming up from the south. So Wellington retreated into Portugal, and set soldiers and civilian labourers to prepare lines of defence at Torres Vedras. He had studied the art of fortification, and was now to put into practice what he had been learning since his time at Angers Military Academy. Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, with its fine natural harbour, was a most important base for the army of a maritime power like England. It was necessary to make Lisbon safe; accordingly, in the last months of 1809, while Wellington was still fighting on the frontier of Portugal, redoubts were dug to the north of the capital. These formed triple lines: the outer was twenty-nine miles long, the middle line was twenty-four, the innermost was about six miles long. One end of each line was formed by the Tagus; the other end by some commanding hill, or some river. The whole system of fortification took its name from Torres Vedras, a small town at the west end of the first line. Behind the lines the land ran down to the point on which Lisbon stood. It was not till the summer of 1810 that the French general, Masséna, began to move with 70,000 men upon Portugal. Wellington, who had wintered at Almeida, retired behind the lines. He stopped only once, to fight the battle of Busaco, on September 29, 1810. The French advance was stayed by two magnificent charges of the British infantry: the first

made by the 88th and 45th (Connaught Rangers and Sherwood Foresters), the second by the 43rd and 52nd (1st and 2nd Battalions, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry). After this the army got securely behind the redoubts and trenches of Torres Vedras, and 'stationary' (or 'trench') warfare took the place of the 'open warfare' which had hitherto prevailed in the Peninsula. In the spring of 1811 Wellington was sufficiently reinforced, by both British and Portuguese soldiers, to advance again. Masséna, whose army had suffered severely from shortage of supplies, was obliged to retreat into Spain.

Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo. The country between Spain and Portugal (like the greater part of the Peninsula) is mountainous and arid. There were no properly made roads at all, but there were two main routes, along valleys and depressions, between Portugal and Spain. One route led by the Spanish fortress of Badajoz, the other by that of Ciudad Rodrigo. It was necessary for Wellington to capture these before his communications could be secure for a war in Spain. The battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, on May 5, 1811, just succeeded in checking the persevering and energetic Masséna, and enabled Wellington to get the fortress of Almeida, though without capturing its garrison.

In the south, Badajoz was being besieged by an Anglo-Portuguese army under Marshal Beresford, an Irish soldier lent to the Portuguese Government. The battle of Albuera (May 16, 1811) cost as much to the English as to the French, and for the time being saved Badajoz. Early in 1812, however, the energy of Wellington anticipated the movements of the French armies. Ciudad Rodrigo was stormed on January 19 and Badajoz on April 6. Both assaults were very costly, but the fortresses were taken before Soult could bring up his army from the south; thus more soldiers' lives were spared than if Wellington had proceeded by regular siege-methods, and fought at the same time against Soult's relieving army.

Spain. The northern and southern roads were now open to the British commander. Spain, except in the south, is a country where supplies of food are hard to obtain, but the English Navy commanded the sea, and supplies were regularly brought over for the army. Wellington was careful to see that those supplies came up country along a regular line of communications, so that his men were properly fed and clothed. The French, on the other hand, were at a great disadvantage in regard to supplies. Napoleon's vicious policy was to make war support war. He allowed a wholly inadequate sum of money from the Imperial Treasury for the Spanish War, the rest had to be made up by forced contributions from the country. It would have been practically impossible at the best of times for Spain to support the French armies, and it was certainly out of the question at this time, when practically the whole Spanish people, especially the peasantry, was against them, and maintained irregular warfare along all the French lines of communication. Wellington fought in a friendly country—all the more friendly because his army paid scrupulously for everything they took—while the French moved among people who hid all supplies, and killed every straggler whom they met.

1812 was the decisive year in the Peninsular, and indeed in the Napoleonic, War. It began with the opening of the roads into Spain through the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz by Wellington. The summer witnessed the great battle of Salamanca (July 22, 1812), and the occupation of Madrid. At the same time Napoleon was leading his *Grande Armée* on the fatal expedition to Moscow, which ended with the retreat and almost complete destruction of his mighty force.

1813. Although, in the latter part of 1812, Wellington again found it necessary to retire into Portugal, he was able to issue from it stronger than ever in 1813. The French, on their side, were weaker, because Napoleon had withdrawn considerable forces in the previous year for the Moscow expedition, and

replaced them with inferior troops. For these reasons Wellington's career in 1813 was marked by a brilliant victory against Joseph Bonaparte and by important successes against the able and tenacious Marshal Soult. The victory of Vittoria (won against Joseph Bonaparte, June 21, 1813) forced the French back to the Pyrenees. Here Soult carried on an admirable defensive campaign, and contested every stage on the way to France.

On October 7 (1813) Wellington's army forced the passage of the Bidassoa, the frontier between France and Spain, in the easier country between the west end of the Pyrenees and the sea. On November 10 the Nivelle river was crossed after a hard fight. Between December 9 and 13 the trenches which defended the river Nive were carried. The next line of Soult's defence was the Adour and its tributary the Gave. He only had 50,000 men, as Napoleon had taken away two of his divisions for the defence of the eastern frontier of France.

1814. Wellington brought about 70,000 British, Portuguese, and Spanish against Soult, at Orthez on the Gave. On February 27 (1814) another hardly contested action was fought, and again Soult went stubbornly backward. Before Toulouse he made his last stand. He was driven out of his entrenchments, although he inflicted very heavy losses on the attackers (April 10). So disorganized was France, that news had not reached Soult or Wellington of the capitulation of Paris on March 30. An army, chiefly consisting of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, had invaded the eastern frontier of France at the same time as Wellington passed the Pyrenees. While Soult was valiantly defending the south-west, Napoleon was fighting a brilliant but futile campaign on the east.

The services of Wellington. Before he invaded France, Wellington had been made a Spanish and Portuguese Duke, and the English Government, after the victory of Toulouse, made him an English Duke. The Peninsular War had drained

Napoleon's resources and exposed France to invasion from the south-west. Wellington had shown that the French were by no means invincible, and under his leadership and that of Beresford the Spanish and Portuguese revived their great military traditions. It had been a hard war, both of open battles and of trench fighting. The stationary warfare in the lines of Torres Vedras, in the winter of 1810–11, anticipated in some respects the trench warfare of the war of 1914. The British soldiers in the Peninsular War had no service uniform, but wore the red tunic, tight breeches, and gaiters of the barrack square. The average spell of each soldier in the trenches was twenty-four hours at a time, which compares favourably with the four to twenty days of many battalions in the war of 1914. The strength of the British Army under Wellington was between 20,000 and 30,000, and with these and the Portuguese and Spanish divisions he marched from Badajoz to Toulouse, gaining friends among the peaceful inhabitants all the way.

The preliminaries to Waterloo. The Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, put an end to the war. The old royal family was restored to France. Napoleon was made Emperor of the little island of Elba. He stayed there till the spring of 1815. On March 1 of that year he landed in France; the French Army joined him, and the Allies found that the old state of war was once more established in Europe. Wellington, in the interval, had been British Ambassador in Paris, where he was popular, in spite of the fact that he had so often defeated the French. He was now offered the command of the Allied Army. Belgium was the country in which the Allied forces could be most easily concentrated, so Wellington proceeded there, and in May 1815 had about 100,000 men under his command.

Napoleon entered Belgium along a line which the Germans were to follow in 1914, but in the opposite direction. A Prussian army under Field-Marshal Blücher was defending the line of the Sambre. On June 15 Napoleon's *right* army attacked the Prussians at Charleroi, and drove them along the road

towards Namur. The French *left* army, under Marshal Ney, advanced along the Brussels road, towards Wellington's army. On June 16 he came against the British advanced troops at Quatre Bras. At first there were only about 8,000 troops against him, but their determined resistance enabled Wellington to send up sufficient men to stop Ney's advance.

Meanwhile, the Prussians on the same day had made a stubborn fight at Ligny, on the Charleroi–Namur road. They were forced to retire by Napoleon, who detached 30,000 troops under Marshal Grouchy to follow them, while he himself hastened north to join Ney. The British fell back from Quatre Bras before the combined forces of Napoleon and Ney. By the evening of the 17th, Wellington had taken his stand on the fields of Waterloo, blocking the road to Brussels. Blücher's Prussians, searched for in a weak manner by Grouchy, were working their way round by the more easterly road, by Wavre, to join with Wellington. If the British could hold the positions at Waterloo until Blücher, eluding Grouchy, joined him, all would be well.

Waterloo. The battle of Waterloo began about 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, June 18. Napoleon, suffering from cancer in the stomach, was not the man he had been, but the spell of his name still caused a thrill to run through Europe. The excitement in Brussels on the night before the battle was intense. Many of the British officers had brought their wives with them, and these, in the hotels and lodging houses of Brussels, were living a life which Thackeray admirably describes in *Vanity Fair*. The Duchess of Richmond had given a ball on the night of Thursday, June 15–16. At midnight, Wellington had an interview with General von Müffling, of the Prussian Army. 'The numerous friends of Napoleon here will be on tiptoe,' he said; 'the well-intentioned must be pacified. Let us therefore go to the Duchess of Richmond's ball, and start for Quatre Bras at 5 a.m.' The duke, who had an iron constitution, required

very little sleep. Byron knew people who attended the ball, and describes it in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!

Did ye not hear it?—No; 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined;
No sleep till morn when Youth and Pleasure meet
To chase the glowing Hours with flying feet.
But hark! that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!
Arm! arm! it is—it is—the cannon's opening roar!

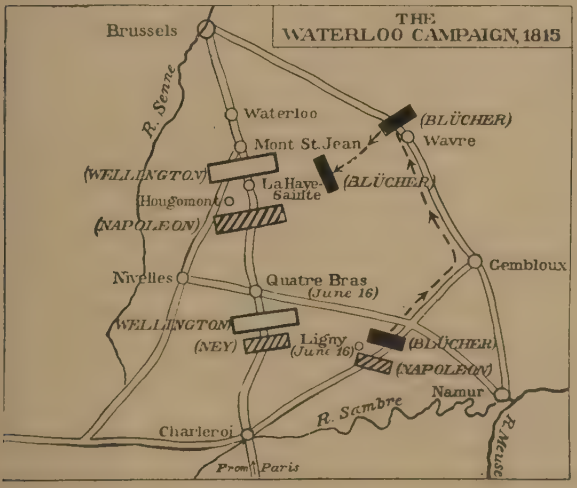
Within a window'd niche of that high hall,
Sate Brunswick's fated chieftain; he did hear
That sound, the first amidst the festival,
And caught its tone with Death's prophetic ear;
And when they smiled because he deem'd it near
His heart more truly knew that peal too well
Which stretched his father[1] on a bloody bier
And roused the vengeance blood alone could quell:
He rushed into the field, and, foremost fighting, fell.

On the gently sloping fields of Waterloo, where the highways from Nivelles and from Charleroi to Brussels meet, Wellington had his army ready for the battle. He had 67,000 men, of whom 24,000 were British, and 14,000 were Belgian and Dutch; the rest were German contingents. Against this mixed army, which contained both good and bad material, Napoleon led 74,000 of the finest troops in the

[1] Duke Frederick William of Brunswick entered the English service with his regiment of Black Brunswickers in 1809, fought in the Peninsular War, and was killed at Quatre Bras. His father had been killed at Auerstadt.

world, all of the same nation, and all perfectly trusting their leader. Blücher and the Prussian Army, however, had been promised for noon, so that Wellington counted on receiving overwhelming support in an hour's time.

As a matter of fact, Blücher did not bring up his army till 4 p.m. He had started late (at 6 a.m. instead of 3.30 a.m.), having been delayed because his chief of staff, Gneisenau,



believed that Wellington would not fight—that the British Army would retire on Brussels, and that the Prussians by advancing would only march into a trap. Once convinced that Wellington did really mean to fight at Waterloo, Blücher came on with the utmost determination. The distance from Wavre, where the Prussians started, to Waterloo, is thirteen miles, and it required all the fiery old Field-Marshal's will and vigour to get his men and guns along the broken-up roads in time to be of any use.

The battle of Waterloo began with a massed attack of the French infantry on Hougomont. This was held by the British Guards, who resisted every assault. About half-past one the main onslaught was made in four columns upon the British line at La Haye Sainte, a farm about one mile north of Hougomont. The first Allied troops to be encountered here were the Dutch and Belgians, who were routed. Then the columns came upon two British brigades under General Picton, and engaged at close quarters. The struggle was intense. The heroic Picton himself was killed, but the defence held fast, and finally the French columns were broken by a charge of the Horse Guards and Life Guards. This magnificent charge cost 1,000 British lives, but it saved the day.

At 4 o'clock the British and Hanoverian line between Hougomont and La Haye Sainte had to face a still more tremendous ordeal. Napoleon knew that time was against him, so he strained every nerve and used every man. 5,000 Cuirassiers, heavy horsemen in flashing breastplates, charged at the line. The British infantry formed quickly into hollow squares, and for two hours withstood one tornado of cavalry after another. No square was broken. Finally, at the right moment, Wellington sent the reserve of cavalry on to the field, and the remnants of the Cuirassiers were driven off.

While the Cuirassiers were making their great onslaught, Blücher's Prussians were getting into touch with the French about Planchenoit. Napoleon had to detach 14,000 men to hold them back; but 14,000 could not do so, indefinitely, against 30,000. The struggle went on through the length of the summer afternoon. About half-past six Napoleon's troops took La Haye Sainte, and the battered British line was withdrawn a little at this point. At 7 o'clock Napoleon put forth his final effort. The heroic Marshal Ney was sent forward with the Imperial Guard, 10,000 of the most experienced infantry in the world, against the British line, between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont. Wellington himself was at the threatened point. Under his cold serene glance the

troops remained steady till the Guard was quite close. Then, at Wellington's command, the British Guards stood up and fired point-blank into the advancing column. The French Guard reeled; the British Guards were upon them. But for a moment more the scales of victory were balanced when the last French cavalry reserve came up to support the Guard. Then Wellington ordered the whole British line to advance. Putting himself at the head of the 52nd (now the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry), mounted on his horse, he led the way. As they swept down the high road, the French recoiled; orderly retreat became impossible, and Napoleon's great army was routed. About half-way towards Planchenoit, along the highway, Wellington and Blücher met, two heroic figures, on one of history's greatest stages.

The victory cost 13,000 men to Wellington's army, and 30,000 to the French. On July 7 Wellington and Blücher entered Paris. On July 15 Napoleon surrendered at Rochefort to Captain Maitland of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. He was kept on the island of St. Helena, where he died on May 5, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age.

The Congress of Vienna. The ambassadors of the Powers which had taken part in the great war against Napoleon were sitting in Congress at Vienna throughout a great part of the years 1814 and 1815, even while the battle of Waterloo was being fought. The General Act of the Congress was signed on June 9, 1815. After so many conquests and annexations made by Napoleon, when frontiers had been obliterated and reigning families expelled, it was necessary to make a comprehensive re-arrangement of Europe. On the whole, the principle on which the Congress proceeded was to restore the States of Europe very much as they had existed before the advent of Napoleon. The small Italian States were re-established under their reigning princes; but the Republics of Genoa and Venice were not restored (the first was annexed to Sardinia, the other to Austria). In Germany, a large number of small reigning families did not recover their

thrones, but Prussia, which, with Austria, had fought with great determination, was greatly increased. Belgium, which had been under Austria, was joined to Holland as one kingdom (they separated again in 1830). Norway, which had been under Denmark, was joined to Sweden (but separated from it again in 1905). Great Britain, in spite of the subsidies which she had poured out, in spite of the great part which she had played in the land fighting, in spite of the services which her incomparable Navy had rendered to the common cause, claimed no share in the partition of the Continent of Europe. The only European conquests which she retained were two islands taken by the Fleet—Heligoland in the North Sea, and Malta in the Mediterranean. Heligoland was ceded to Prussia in 1890. Malta is still in the Empire, on the great sea high-road between Great Britain and India. Great Britain also retained the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, but gave back Java to the Dutch, after the brilliant colonial governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, had administered it with conspicuous success from 1810 to 1814.

Finally, two sections of the General Act of Vienna must be mentioned, which have had a profound effect upon the welfare of mankind. Article 108 declared that all navigable rivers of Europe should be open to the trade of all nations, subject to the payment of the prevailing dues and customs. Secondly, an 'Annex' incorporated in the Treaty declared the emphatic disapproval of the Governments of Europe of the trade in slaves. The next fifty years brought about the abolition of slavery in every organized country in the world except Turkey.

From 1812 to 1814 England had been involved in hostilities with the United States, over the 'right of search' at sea. This war was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814.

Wellington as a statesman. Except under the Duke of Marlborough, the military reputation of England had never stood so high. Among all the great captains of the military States of Europe, Wellington stood easily chief. 'I am one of those,' he said in 1829 in the House of Lords, 'who have

probably passed a longer period of my life in war than most men.' This indeed was true. Yet when war was over, the great soldier turned with equal devotion to the labours of peace, and spent the rest of his long life in active attention to the political affairs of his country. He lived mostly in London, at Apsley House, the simple and dignified mansion which the nation presented to him. It stands at the west end of Piccadilly, on the edge of Hyde Park. From there he

went regularly to the House of Lords, sometimes in his carriage, more frequently on horseback, often walking. The Londoners grew familiar with the sight of the stately old man, walking along the pavement of Piccadilly, clad in a tall hat, blue tail-coat, white waistcoat and white trousers. Wellington was a great man and quite conscious of his greatness, yet he always showed a real simplicity of character. Once in his later years a man gave the Duke his arm to help him across the crowded street, and then, on receiving the Duke's thanks, began to explain how honoured he felt, and how he would remember this all his life and so forth. Wellington wanted

no flattery. He merely replied, 'Don't be a damned fool!' and went on his way.

In politics the Duke was a strong Tory or Conservative, believing that people required to be governed with a certain amount of discipline. He was against absolutist government, but thought that the British Constitution gave the proper

CHIPPENDALE FURNITURE

amount of freedom and the proper amount of order. On his own estate—Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire—which was bought for him by the nation, he was a just and kind landlord. He spent most of the rental upon improving the land, and built cottages for all the labourers. He said every labourer should have an acre of ground, and he carried out this idea by attaching an acre to all the cottages which he built on his own estate.

To the end of his life he remained at work. After Waterloo

he had a little more service on the Continent. In 1818 he accepted the position of Master-General of the Ordnance, and sat in the Cabinet of which Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister. He acted as Ambassador at a Congress of European statesmen who met at Verona in 1822. In 1827 he succeeded the Duke of York (a son of George III) as Commander-in-Chief

SHERATON FURNITURE

of the Army. In 1828 he became Prime Minister, a position which he did not wish to hold, and which he accepted, out of a pure sense of duty, because the King asked him. Deeply attached to the Protestant religion, he cast his influence in favour of Catholic Emancipation, saying, 'if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it'. When Lord Winchelsea said the Duke had merely pretended to show zeal for the Protestant religion in order to bring in Popery by 'insidious designs', the Duke called on him to apologize, and on Winchelsea's refusal, fought

a duel with him in Battersea Fields, outside London. Both fired wide, and Winchelsea subsequently apologized. Wellington did not believe in extending the franchise to the whole people; accordingly, he opposed the Reform Bill. The populace, with despicable ingratitude, rioted in front of Apsley House, and threatened him with violence when he came out of doors. Their behaviour made no difference either to Wellington's views or his conduct. Perfectly impassive in countenance, he rode as usual through the streets; but he induced the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill, thus saving England from civil war. In 1834 King William IV was at a loss what to do for a ministry. He sent down to Strathfieldsaye to ask the Duke's advice. The messenger arrived at 6 o'clock in the morning, just as the Duke was going out hunting. Immediately, obedient to his sovereign, he left for Brighton, saw the King, and advised him to make Peel Prime Minister. Peel, however, was in Italy. What was to be done in the meantime? The Duke offered to become Prime Minister himself till Peel could be summoned back to England. This was on November 17. The King gratefully accepted the offer, and the Duke at once drove to London, went to the Home Office in Whitehall, and began his official duties. His term as Prime Minister lasted just three weeks, at the end of which time Peel arrived in London. The Duke then resigned, and became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Peel. In 1841, and again in 1846, he had a place in the Cabinet, without holding political office. Almost his last public act was to support Peel in abolishing the Corn Laws. 'I am the servant of the Crown and people,' he said. 'I have been paid and rewarded and consider myself retained, and that I can't do otherwise than serve as required, when I can do so without dishonour, that is to say, as long as I have health and strength to enable me to serve.' When not in office, he was always being asked for advice, to help the Government out of difficulties. On January 13, 1849, the British suffered defeat in the Sikh War at Chilianwallah. The Government asked the

Duke to suggest 'three names', to help them to choose a general. The Duke, at any rate, knew his own mind. He wrote *Sir Charles Napier*. Napier hesitated about going. 'If you will not go, I must,' said the Duke. Napier went.

In the last years of his life he was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. The office has for long been a sinecure, with practically nothing to do. It was no sinecure with the Duke. The fine tower of Walmer Castle enabled him to take a bird's-eye view over the South Coast. He wrote a letter to Sir John Burgoyne, Commander-in-Chief of the Army (son of General Burgoyne of Saratoga), advising a better system of coast-defence, and a further strengthening of the Army, both of which suggestions were carried out. His end, like the whole period of his old age, was impressive in its simple dignity and beauty. He quietly breathed his last, without any illness, on September 14, 1852:

No more in soldier fashion will he greet
With lifted hand the gazer in the street . . .
O good grey head which all men knew,
O voice from which their omens all men drew,
O iron nerve to true occasion true,
O fallen at length that tower of strength,
Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew![1]

Wellington was married in 1806 to Catherine Pakenham, daughter of the second Lord Longford. She died in 1831, leaving three sons and three daughters.

[1] Tennyson, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*.

PASTIMES. An early game of cricket

CHAPTER XXVII

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IRELAND

The eighteenth century in Ireland is a self-contained period coming after that of the Tudors and Stuarts, which was marked by rebellions and bloodshed, and preceding that of the nineteenth century, which was a time of agitation and, in its latter half, of gradually growing prosperity. The eighteenth century was a period when Englishmen looked upon Ireland, on the whole, with indifference, and to some extent with dislike; but, in spite of a bad system of laws, the Irish were not treated with direct hostility or severe oppression, English government was not tyrannical, but it was bad government, for it did not aim, simply and deliberately, to ensure happy, virtuous lives for the governed.

There are three comparatively well-marked divisions of the century in Ireland; the first is the time of repression, from 1689 to 1763; the second is the time of the Constitutional Opposition, from 1763 to 1782; the third is the time of Self-government, from 1782 to the passing of the Act of Union in 1800.

§ 1. The Period of Repression

The Revolution of 1688. The Irish Catholics had stood by James II when the Revolution took place in England, and William III found it necessary to conquer Ireland afresh. The battle of the Boyne on July 1, 1690, and the capture of Limerick in 1691 broke the resistance of the Catholics; and the Revolution Government set itself to make the recurrence of a Jacobite War impossible. The war had been won largely through the loyalty of Irish Protestants, especially the staunch citizens of Londonderry and Enniskillen, to the cause of William of Orange; so, naturally, everything was done to favour and strengthen the Protestant influence, and to

depress the Roman Catholics. Seventy years of repression, though not exactly of oppression, followed, which only made the bulk of the Irish more Roman Catholic, and more bitterly resentful of the English rule.

The Penal Code. The object of the British Government was to destroy the social, economic, and religious influence of the Irish Roman Catholics, and with this aim the Penal Laws were passed by the Parliament at Dublin. These laws, enacted at intervals from 1692 till the end of Queen Anne's reign, are monuments of bigotry, and, had they been continuously and rigidly enforced, they would have been horribly oppressive. They were, indeed, by no means a dead letter. Catholics were often most abominably persecuted, but the persecution was sporadic, and never directly touched the mass of the people ; for it is impossible, year after year, to enforce an absurd and unjust code of law against the continuous passive resistance of a whole people. Government can only act through its officials ; and no body of officials in the world can permanently compel the observance, even of a good system of laws (far less a bad system) against the continuous resistance of the people.

The Penal Code was simply intended to prevent the Irish acquiring wealth and to deprive them of that amount of land which they had managed to retain. Religion *per se* was only a secondary matter. Under the Penal Code, Roman Catholics were not allowed to vote for members of the Irish Parliament nor to sit in either House. They were not allowed to hold posts under the Government, to join the Navy or Army, or to be members of the town or city corporations. Priests were forbidden to celebrate a marriage between a Protestant and Catholic, and any such marriages were invalid. Roman Catholics could not become schoolmasters, could not go to Trinity College, Dublin, could not practise the profession of Law. If the son of a Catholic landowner became a Protestant he was made owner of the estate, although bound to leave the use of it to his father. By a ridiculous Act of 1697, Roman Catholics were not allowed

to possess a horse of more than £5 value. When we remember the absorbing interest which the Irish take in horses, we see at once how vindictive, malicious, and stupid was such an Act. It could not be generally enforced, but it was degrading to an Irish Catholic gentleman to feel that he only kept his fine horses by sufferance of his Protestant neighbours. It is said that once a Catholic gentleman was driving two beautiful horses into Mullingar when a man stopped the carriage and offered ten guineas for the pair of horses. The owner drew a pistol and shot the horses dead ; otherwise under the law he would have been compelled to hand them over to the offerer, for £5 per horse. The story, however, being recorded as a remarkable thing, indicates that the law was not often taken advantage of.

The Government tried hard to enforce the Penal Laws when the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 was going on in Scotland ; and at all times there were a number of grasping toadies ready to inform on priests who had not taken the oath of allegiance, and to claim a reward. Yet there were always plenty of priests in Ireland, and schools for Catholic children were held in barns and behind hedges. Catholic worship was carried on under terrible difficulties, but it went on none the less. Ireland had twenty-four Roman Catholic bishops, who lived, often under assumed names, in the house of some farmer or landowner ; and the Papal Nuncio at Brussels was the head of the whole Irish Catholic system. The worldly, open-minded Lord Chesterfield, who was Viceroy in 1745, refused to carry on sporadic persecution, and after his time the Government contemptuously left the Catholics to carry on their worship, so long as it was not too publicly obvious. The result of the outlawry of Catholicism had been to make it bitter against the English and Anglo-Irish, and to keep it secretive and ignorant. The priests had not a chance of being cultivated or liberally minded men :

'Springing for the most part from the peasant ranks, sharing their prejudices and their passions, and depending

absolutely on their contributions, miserably ignorant and miserably poor, they were an illegal class compelled to associate with smugglers, robbers, and privateers, to whose assistance they were often obliged to resort in order to escape the ministers of justice.'[1]

All the ecclesiastical power of Ireland legally belonged to the English Church there; its bishops sat in the Irish House of Lords; all arable land —whether in Catholic or Protestant hands —had to pay tithe to the local Rector; and all the recognized schools, and Trinity College, in Dublin, were absolutely in the hands of Churchmen. Some of the Church bishops were notable men of religion and learning, like Bishop Berkeley, one of the finest minds of the century, but the bulk of them were undistinguished and often worldly men. Their following did not number more than one-seventh of the population, yet they were the Established Church of the whole country.

The Parliament. Ireland had a Parliament of her own, consisting of a House of Lords and House of Commons, like the English Legislature. Only Protestant Irish Peers could sit, and, as a large number of those always lived in England, the Irish bishops formed about half the House, and therefore practically controlled it. The House of Commons had 300 members; 84 were elected by the freeholders of the counties (and this was the most honest part of the representative system), the other 216 were elected by close boroughs or manors, so that often a few town magistrates or a single landowner elected the member. By Poyning's Act (1494) every Bill of the Irish Parliament had (before its introduction in the Irish Parliament) to be approved by the English Privy Council in London, and by the Declaratory Act of the British Parliament (1719) any Bill passed through the British House of Commons and House of Lords could be applied to Ireland over the head of the Irish Legislature. The Irish Parliament, in fact, only met every other year, to vote the revenue.

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1879), ii. 282.

Economic and social condition. Ireland is a country with large areas of bogland, and little mineral wealth. It can never be a great industrial country, but it can, as it has become in the last fifty years, be thriving and prosperous, with a busy agriculture and a vigorous shipping trade. All this, however, was prevented by England in the late seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. In 1663 Ireland was

THE BANK OF IRELAND. Formerly the Parliament House of Ireland

excluded from the advantages of the Navigation Acts, so that she could not trade with British Colonies. In 1665 Irish cattle or pigs were absolutely prohibited from being imported into England, their only good market. An Act of the British Parliament [1] in 1699 prohibited the export of Irish wool or woollen goods, except to England. The internal trade of the country was not sufficient to absorb the energies of the people or the output of their industry. Trade languished and finally,

[1] The British Parliament legislated for Ireland even before the Declaratory Act of 1719.

except in Ulster, practically died. The physical well-being of the people was at an end ; dirt, squalor, and actual hunger were the lot of most peasant families for many years to come. Actual famine occurred periodically till the year 1846, when the failure of the potato crop had such appalling results that the British Parliament was induced to repeal the Corn Laws. It was this state of squalor and debasement that led Swift

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, NOW THE CITY HALL, DUBLIN

to take up cudgels on behalf of the Irish. How deeply he felt the misery to which they had been reduced by the selfish commercial policy of England may be read in the third voyage of *Gulliver's Travels*.

As the result of various rebellions, followed by confiscation, the greater part of the land (nine-tenths, it is said, of the whole country) had passed away from the old owners into new hands, to Irish Protestants or English 'adventurers'. Many of the new landlords lived away from Ireland, and left their estates to be administered by bailiffs. The peasants were poor cultivators ; the land was not by nature fertile ; the

new landlords took little interest in their land and spent as little capital as possible on it. The result was that cultivation went from bad to worse ; the peasant families, so often on the verge of famine, grew hopeless, aimless, sullen. They practically ceased to try and grow grain, and attended only to the potato-patches, by which they just managed to feed their large families of half-naked children. The best of the peasants left the country and went abroad ; the rest learned to look upon the law as some horrible engine, made to ruin their souls by the Penal Code and their bodies by Land Acts. They lost the sense of justice, and all respect for law. The English system was ruining public morality, and bringing a state of affairs to pass which would make government impossible. ' It rendered absolutely impossible in Ireland the formation of that habit of instinctive and unreasoning reverence for law which is one of the most essential conditions of English civilization.' [1]

Emigration. In consequence of their religious and political disabilities, many of the Irishmen who could afford to do so, emigrated. Those of a martial inclination went to Europe and entered the service of the Kings of France and Spain, the Emperor, the Tsar of Russia, and of other governments. Those who were fitted for practising a trade went to the colonies. Thackeray's *Barry Lyndon* gives a fascinating picture of one of the soldierly kind, who was an Irish rolling stone. There were famous Irish regiments in the army of France, and the story is familiar how George II, on hearing of the prowess of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, is said to have cursed the laws that robbed him of such soldiers. George Browne (1698–1792) became the best Austrian general in the Seven Years' War ; Peter Lacy (1678–1751) was a Russian Field Marshal and helped to make Peter the Great's army. Thomas Arthur Lally of Tollendal (1702–79) was the ablest soldier of the French East India Company in the time of Clive, and Richard Wall (1694–1778) was one of the admirals

[1] Lecky, loc. cit., p. 282.

who revived Spain's sea-power. Arthur Dillon (1721–1806) became Archbishop of Toulouse. This was a fearful draining of the ability of a people.

'In every community there exists a small minority of men whose abilities, high purpose, and energy of will, mark them out as in some degree leaders of men. These take the first steps in every public enterprise, counteract by their example the vicious elements of the population, set the current and form the standard of public opinion, and infuse a healthy moral vigour into their nation. In Ireland for three or four generations such men were steadily weeded out. Can we wonder that the standard of public morals and of public spirit should have declined?'[1]

§ 2. The Constitutional Opposition, 1763–82

Till the end of the reign of George II, the Irish Parliament was to a large extent content to register the wishes of the English Government. Gradually, however, even within the servile Parliament, where no Catholics were admitted, a party was formed, which seriously criticized the Government's policy and called for reform. This party may be said to begin when Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, founded the *Freeman's Journal* in 1763; by his writing he exposed the abuses of the 'Castle' administration, and the hearts of the more patriotic members of Parliament were stirred. Equally important was Henry Flood, son of an Irish Chief Justice, rich, well educated (he had been to Trinity College, Dublin, and Christ Church, Oxford), and ardently patriotic. In 1759 he entered Parliament as member for Kilkenny, and his flaming eloquence soon made him a formidable opponent of the Government. By Flood's efforts, the English Government was forced to recognize the *exclusive* right of the Irish Parliament to introduce money Bills in the House. Before this the English Privy Council had been in the habit of budgeting for Ireland, and getting money Bills passed through the two Irish Houses.

The fame of Flood was, however, to be eclipsed by that of

[1] Lecky, loc. cit., p. 265.

a greater man, with a nobler nature. This was Henry Grattan, whose fiery nature and masterful energy, lofty bearing and splendid moving eloquence, recall the qualities of Chatham. He was born in 1746, studied law in London, and then was returned by Lord Charlemont to the Irish House of Commons as member for the pocket borough of Charlemont. He at once became the focus for all the patriotic forces; by his eloquence and his intellect, the maladministration of Ireland was laid bare to the educated public—though that public was itself only the privileged Protestant classes. In 1775 the War of American Independence broke out. The English Army and even the Navy, commanded though it was by the splendid sailors Howe, and in the later stages of the war, Rodney, became involved in difficulties. Paul Jones, the American privateersman and admiral, was soon sailing the ocean and invading the Irish Sea itself. The Irish, a brave nation, with the instinct for combination, joined in bands and regiments, and soon a force of 60,000 volunteers was ready and trained, under the command of Lord Charlemont, to resist the invader. The danger passed away, but the volunteers remained; and either from gratitude or fear, it was now difficult for the English Government to resist any reasonable demands.

It was under these circumstances that Henry Grattan was able to carry through two great measures which restored those powers of legislation which Ireland had possessed before Poyning's Act and the Act of 6 George I. In the first place he proposed a resolution in the Irish House of Commons demanding free trade for Ireland, and when this was carried without opposition he added to it a financial lever; he induced the House to grant supplies to the Government for six months only, and not for the usual two years. The Ministry of Lord North had sufficient difficulties to meet, both in England and in the colonies, and so it bowed to the storm in Ireland. It may be that the teaching of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) had already begun to influence

the minds of other Tory statesmen besides the younger Pitt. At the beginning of the year 1780 Bills were passed through the British Parliament establishing almost complete commercial equality between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, ELECTED 1790

Further, i. e. in the second place, Grattan meant to gain more than this—no less, in fact, than the complete repeal of the Statute of Drogheda of 1494 (Poyning's Act) and the Declaratory Act of 6 George I (1719). The whole of Ireland was ablaze with excitement; all the Roman Catholics, as well as a large number of the Protestants, were supporting Grattan; the volunteers were still armed, and their delegates,

to the number of 242, meeting in the Church of Dungannon in February 1782, unanimously voted: 'That a claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.' In the following month Lord North's Ministry fell.

The new Ministry was that of Lord Rockingham, with Shelburne and Fox as Secretaries of State. They were faced with the tasks of making peace in America and preventing war in Ireland. They settled the latter difficulty first. On April 16, 1782, Grattan, who had risen from a bed of sickness in order to make his great effort, introduced in the Irish House of Commons an Address to the Crown in favour of legislative independence. If ever spirit could be said to act independently of its body, said Lord Charlemont, it was on that occasion. No one presumed to call the patriot's words in question. The Irish House of Lords also assented to the Address; and every one assumed that the affair was already settled.

'I am now to address a free people (said Grattan in introducing the Address). Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. . . . I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and bowing to her august presence, I say: *esto perpetua*!'[1]

Fox and Shelburne yielded to the importunity of Ireland, and against their conviction introduced a Bill into the British Parliament to give Ireland that complete legislative independence which only complete loyalty to the Empire could justify. Their trust appeared to be deserved; for the passage of the Bill through Parliament was greeted in Ireland with the most loyal expressions and the most cordial votes.

[1] Quoted in Mahon's *History of England*. William Molyneux (1656–98) wrote on the constitutional relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

§ 3. Self-Government, 1782–1800

The independent Irish Parliament lasted just eighteen years. It remained as it had been, exclusively Protestant in composition. Those who wish a humorous account of it should read the opening chapters of Lever's *Charles O'Malley*. In 1793, however, it passed an Act which gave the Roman Catholics the vote, and but for the rebellion which took place five years later, it would doubtless also have admitted them to Parliament. It must be admitted that Ireland greatly improved financially and industrially during the period of self-government. Unfortunately that period was too short to give her a fair chance. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and the evil spirit of secret societies and rebellion took root in the ready soil of Ireland. The constitutional leaders of Parliament had no part in the rebellion; but, as has happened subsequently, they could not control the wilder elements, and they could not keep the younger priests in hand.

In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was formed. Its object was to bring into one body both the Catholics who hated the English Protestant system, and the Ulster Presbyterians, many of whom at this time were infected with the republican spirit. The first meeting of the Society seems to have been held in Belfast, and its primary object was at that time stated to be the admission of men of all creeds to the Irish Parliament.

The Rebellion. In 1796 a number of flaming patriots—it must be admitted that they loved their country—planned a great rebellion. All the original leaders were Protestants. It was not a religious rebellion at first. The chiefs of the United Irishmen (as the rebellious league was called) were Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of ability and energy, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a son of the Duke of Leinster. Fitzgerald was a man of great chivalry and heroism; he had fought with distinction for Britain in the American War; later he had come under the influence of the French Revolution, and had married an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of

Orleans. The rebellion was planned in Paris, and the French Directory, then at war with England, promised armed help.

An expedition sailed from France under General Hoche in December 1796, but a storm dispersed it. The English Government became alive to the danger. Its agents discovered the plans of the United Irishmen ; all the leaders that could be found were arrested and martial law was proclaimed. Soldiers and yeomen were sent to the most disaffected parts of the country. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was found hiding in an obscure house in Dublin. He defended himself desperately, was shot, and died of his wounds (June 4, 1798).

Meanwhile, the regulars and yeomanry, quartered in the most discontented parts of the country, living like aliens in a conquered land, had misused the people, and had been requited, by an ignorant and embittered peasantry, with hatred and treachery. Wolfe Tone had gone to Paris, where he still was. In summer (1798) a series of risings, ill planned and ill conducted, broke out in various parts of Ireland. They were all perfectly horrible ; both sides assailed each other with ferocity, and seldom gave quarter. People surrendered and then were massacred ; promises were made and broken. The Irish rebels were no better than the regulars and the Protestant yeomanry ; the whole country was demoralized. Lord Cornwallis, the able, upright, honourable soldier who was then Viceroy of Ireland, sickened of the butchery which he could not be everywhere to stop. ' The conversation ', he wrote to General Lake, ' even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company.' The priests indeed were going through the struggle red-handed. Father Michael Murphy led his men so fearlessly and successfully that he was long believed to be invulnerable till a cannon-ball killed him at Arklow There were other priests who fought ; some were killed in battle, others,

being captured, paid the penalty with their lives. Prisoners were not infrequently tortured—both sides were guilty of this atrocity.

On June 21 the rebels were defeated by Lord Lake at Vinegar Hill near Enniscorthy in County Wexford. The new Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, had only just arrived. The rebellion was almost over. In August the French General Humbert landed a very small force from a French squadron at Killala Bay, and defeated General Lake's disaffected militia at Castlebar; but Cornwallis and Lake rounded up the French at Ballina, and took them all prisoners. Another French squadron was sailing for Ireland, but it was destroyed on the way by the English fleet; the *Hoche* was made a prize, and its crew and officers taken prisoner. Wolfe Tone was among the captured. He escaped notice at first, but was recognized when the officer prisoners were being entertained at Lord Cavan's house on Lough Swilly. He was tried by court-martial at Dublin, for treason and rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged; but John Philpot Curran, an able and high-minded Dublin barrister, applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, on the ground that no court-martial had jurisdiction in Ireland while the Four Courts were still sitting. The case was not perfectly clear either way, and passion, prejudice, the desire to vindicate public order, all counted against the rebel; but the spirit of the law is fair, and does not give itself the benefit of a doubt. For the honour of British Justice, the writ of Habeas Corpus was granted, and Wolfe Tone was reserved to be tried by an ordinary court of law. He committed suicide in prison before the trial took place, and was buried in Bodenstown churchyard, which is now almost a scene of pilgrimage. The Irish have long considered him a martyr for his country, but the story only reflects credit on the English. There is nothing splendid in conspiring with the King's enemies in the middle of a great war, as Wolfe Tone conspired with the French. But there is something noble and grand in giving an opponent the most scrupulous fair play.

§ 4. The Union

The leaders of the Irish Parliament had taken no part in the rebellion; and it may be, that a Parliament freely and openly elected, by Catholics and Protestants, would have kept Ireland quiet. Who can say? All that Pitt, who was Prime Minister in England, could see, was that the Irish had made a savage rebellion when Britain was at war and in danger of a terrible invasion. He decided that England and Ireland must be tied closer together; that the Irish Parliament must be abolished, and the Irish called to share the labours and responsibilities of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. This was not a method of coercion; it was a noble summons to partnership and kindly association.

When the rebellion of '98 was ended, the Irish Parliament still remained. The British Parliament could have re-enacted the statute of 6 George I, and then have abolished the Irish Legislature by a Bill. Practically, however, England had made a compact with Ireland to allow self-government to her; and compacts can only justly be changed with the consent of both parties. So the Irish Parliament had to vote for its own abolition, if the union was to take place.

A General Election was held in 1799, and the greatest efforts were made by both sides to secure a majority. 'The South of Ireland', wrote Cornwallis, 'are well disposed to union, the North seem in a state of neutrality, or rather apathy, on the subject, which is to me incomprehensible; but all the counties in the middle of the island, from Dublin to Galway, are violent against it.' The Government was able to command the votes of the nomination (or 'pocket') boroughs; and where people were not honestly in favour of union, bribery was employed. Lord Cornwallis sickened of the task. 'My occupation', he wrote, to Major-General Ross in June 1799, 'is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that

without an Union the British Empire must be dissolved.' Lord Castlereagh, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, was equally active. Finally, the Roman Catholic bishops were in favour of the Union, moved no doubt by the prospect of Catholic emancipation which was held out before them. The Government accordingly was able to secure a majority

in the House of Commons, although the county members, who represented the most free constituencies in Ireland, as a whole were against the Union.

On February 5, 1800, Lord Castlereagh, to whom Pitt had entrusted the task of piloting the Bill through the Lower House, arose to propose the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. Like most of his speeches, this was a long and conscientious effort, sensible and even forcible, but somewhat tedious to listen to. After a careful explanation of the financial, commercial, and political clauses of the measure, he passed on to consider its more general aspect—'One State, one Legislature, one Church, these are the leading features of the system, and without identity with Great Britain in these three great points of connexion we can never hope for any real and permanent security.' The Union plan, he added, in his peroration, 'is one that, by uniting the Church Establishments and consolidating the Legislatures of the Empire, puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of separation. It is one which places the great question which has so long agitated the country, upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties.' The fight was prolonged, but the Government steadily gained support, and when Grattan rose on May 26 to oppose the second reading of the Bill, his cause was already lost. His magnificent oration concluded with an appeal and a prophecy, which Castlereagh said were simply an encouragement to rebellion. Ireland's Constitution was lost, he admitted, but not for ever.

'Liberty may repair her golden beams, and with redoubled heart animate the country. . . . I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead; though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty:

> Thou art not conquer'd; beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And death's pale flag is not advancéd there.' [1]

[1] Grattan's *Speeches*, iv. 23; Lecky, op. cit., viii. 489. The quotation is from *Romeo and Juliet*, Act v, Scene iii.

The Bill passed the Irish House of Commons with a majority of forty-six votes. It likewise went through the Irish House of Lords. There were sixteen new peerages which Cornwallis undertook to have created, as soon as the Bill was passed.

The Irish Parliament came to an end on January 1, 1801, and the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland were united. Ireland was to be represented in the House of Commons in London by one hundred elected members, and in the House of Lords by twenty-eight elected peers and four bishops. The Protestant Church of Ireland was joined to that of England, and the two were to be known as *The United Church of England and Ireland.* The administration of Ireland was entrusted to the Viceroy and his Chief Secretary, either or both of whom might be members of the British Cabinet. A notable feature of the Act was the abolition of eighty nomination boroughs, for which the owners were compensated by a payment of £15,000 each ; thus the Irish borough owners received more favourable treatment than did their English and Scottish compeers in 1832, who received no compensation. It was understood that with the Union, the Catholics would be freed from their political disabilities, and would be allowed to take a share in Parliament. Pitt honestly meant to bring this about. It is well known that George III refused to sanction such an act, for ' he had sworn at his coronation to preserve the Protestant religion '. Pitt resigned, and the Union was blighted from the start, for it was poisoned with a sense of grievance which nothing has yet extinguished.

SCOTLAND

Contrast of Scottish and Irish Union. The union made between Scotland and England in 1707 suited the needs of each country, and has been a lasting success, prospering in mutual comfort and support.

The reasons for the difference between the results of the Scottish and Irish Unions are plain. In the first place, the

Scottish Union, although registered as an ordinary Act of Parliament, was made by a treaty between the representatives of England and Scotland. There was no suggestion of inferiority on either side. The Scots and English made a fair compact with each other, and entered upon their union on equal terms.

In the second place, there was no very deep religious difference between the Scots and English. One nation was chiefly Presbyterian, the other was chiefly Episcopalian; but both were Protestant, and in each country the faith of the majority of the people was the faith of the legally established Church.

Thirdly, owing to the absence of any feeling of difference in religion, or even any special difference of race, the Scots passed freely into England and the colonies, and made great careers there. Not so with the Catholic Irish: they were not anxious to come to England; those who did come were not particularly successful; England was never a home for them. But Scots filled the highest posts in England and the Empire: the Church, the Universities, the Law, the Cabinet, the East India Company, the great mercantile houses, provided them with careers, honours, emoluments, in exchange for their probity, their industry, their idealism, and their courage. For the Scot is not, as stories so often describe him, shrewd, cautious, slow in thought. He is brave, adventurous, enthusiastic; he has still the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*; and the wealth of England, the spacious fields of the Empire, have given his spirit the range which his own poor country could not offer. Therefore the Union has suited him. It has suited England too, for it has added to her the elements of strength which the Scots provide alongside of the sterling worth of the Anglo-Saxon.

The Years after the Union. It is true that at first the Union was unpopular in Scotland. The citizens of Edinburgh disliked the loss of their Parliament. The Legislature in London was too far off to be much influenced by local Scottish opinion; when the Scots Parliament sat in the High Street of Edinburgh, the people, as the old woman says in the

Heart of Midlothian, 'could aye peeble them with stanes'. There were rankling memories of the 'Massacre' of Glencoe, where on February 13, 1692, thirty-eight Highlanders were killed and the rest of the inhabitants driven into the mountains by the soldiery of William III.

Gradually, however, the Union won its way. When the Jacobite rising occurred in 1715 (see p. 440) considerable support was given not merely in the uncultivated Highlands, but in the well-to-do Lowlands. As late as 1736, much ill-feeling was shown against the Government in London, during the Porteous riots. These occurred at Edinburgh. Two smugglers, imprisoned in the Tolbooth, had attempted to escape, but one of them, Andrew Wilson, a stout man, had stuck in the grating, and so prevented the other, George Robertson, from escaping likewise. Next Sunday, when the two prisoners were taken to St. Giles's, to hear the 'condemned sermon', Wilson seized hold of the guard, and shouting 'Run, Geordie, run for your life', gave his companion the chance to flee. Robertson escaped; Wilson was taken back to prison, and then hanged in the Grassmarket on April 14. Some disturbance took place at the execution, and Captain John Porteous of the City Guard gave orders to fire; and some sixteen men and women were killed or wounded. For this act, Porteous himself was condemned to death, but was reprieved. The mob, however, furious with this interference from London, broke into the Tolbooth prison and murdered him. Walpole at first meditated a severe punishment of Edinburgh, but feeling ran very high in Scotland, and the Union itself almost seemed in danger. He therefore contented himself with getting the city fined £1,500 for the benefit of Porteous's widow. In 1745,[1] however, the Lowlanders had learned their lesson. They had found that England was a splendid market for their cloth; and they had experienced the just and mild rule of the Hanoverian Government. Therefore, while the Highlands, even then almost a foreign country

[1] For the history of the Rebellion of 1745, see pp. 468-75.

which had learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the days of Montrose and Dundee, rose to the call of Prince Charlie, the Lowlands did not move. The port of Glasgow was growing great on the profits of the American trade, and was typical of the new Scotland, eager, commercial, staunch in the cause of law and order.

Intellectual life. It was not merely the flesh-pots of the Empire which attracted the Scot. He has never been a mere business man. There was a thriving, keen, intellectual life in the country. The Scottish legal profession has always been dignified and learned; in the eighteenth century it was great. A fine radiance of mellow wisdom shines in the faces of the old judges whom Sir Henry Raeburn painted, as it does in the face of old Lord Glenalmond in Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston*. Lord Monboddo, who became a Scots judge in 1767, wrote a book on *Antient Metaphysics* in which he traced the development of men from animals, thus in some degree anticipating the work of Darwin. Lord Mansfield was the younger son of a Scots lord, and became Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England in 1756; in this position he gave some of the most notable judgements in the history of English law. Another Scotsman, Thomas Erskine (afterwards Lord Chancellor), was at the end of the eighteenth century easily the leader of the English bar.

In theoretical studies the Scots were equally distinguished. David Hume, who lived from 1711 to 1776, was, after Clarendon, the greatest of the philosophical historians till Gibbon came; in economics he was only second to Adam Smith; in ethics and political philosophy he was second to none. It was Hume's *Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding* which Kant said 'woke him from his dogmatic slumber'. And following Hume came the great figure of Adam Smith, whose wholesome influence has made for peace and prosperity wherever sound economics are studied. Adam Smith was a Snell Exhibitioner of Balliol College, who became tutor to the young Duke of Buccleugh, and published *The Wealth of*

Nations in 1776. He showed how the richness of one country does not necessitate the poorness of another, but that, on the contrary, the wealth of nations consists in each doing only what each can best do, and then in mutual exchange of the fruits of their labour. *The Wealth of Nations* is history, economics, philosophy, and romance, none the less romantic because every word of it is true.

In Art Scotland was no whit behind what she achieved in the speculative studies. British portrait-painting reached its highest achievement in the work of Sir Henry Raeburn,[1] whose magnificent men—judges, and lords, chiefs with sword and musket, and soldiers with splendid chargers—equal the majestic pictures of Velasquez or the grave and lofty portraits of Vandyke. Sir David Wilkie's[2] charming pictures of rural life are as justly celebrated as those of Teniers or Van Ostade. The graceful houses, with beautiful ceilings and mantels, which still stand serene in the old squares of Mayfair, were designed by two Scotsmen, the brothers Robert and James Adam, towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In literature progress has been continuous, and all those who were distinguished for learning or speculation wrote with a style which is singularly pure and wholesome. Hume's style is a model, beautiful, clear, impressive. It was at the end of the eighteenth century, however, that the greatest glory was to come when the Ayrshire peasant Robert Burns kindled the lamp of lyric poetry in its purest flame. The flame rose, burned brightly, then died an early death. This rare genius was only thirty-seven when he died, in 1796. He has left a heritage of song which will endure as long as hearts beat and eyes see. There is no purer expression of feeling in the English language than the lyrics *O my luve's like a red red rose*, or *Ye Banks and Braes o' bonnie Doone*. To Burns succeeded Scott, after Shakespeare, the deepest and the widest literary genius of our people. Here, then, on the threshold of the nineteenth century, we may leave the

[1] Raeburn, 1756–1823. [2] Wilkie, 1785–1841.

northern land, which Scott describes so well, with its lairds and its farmers, its Nantie Ewart the smuggler, and its Gifted Gilfillan the ranter; its world of heroes, grave and gay, brave and humorous, idealistic and shrewd. Scott's novels are the Tragedy and Comedy of the old and new Scotland, the complete picture of her life.

CHAPTER XXVIII

INDIA

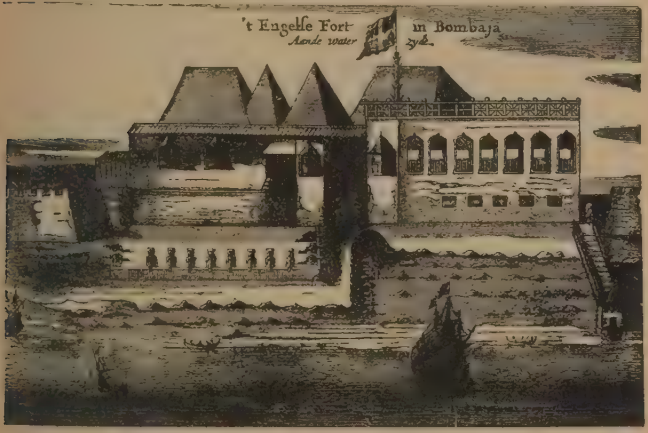
§ 1. The Rise of the British Power

India was not completely unknown to Europe in the Middle Ages, but it was not till Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, and Vasco da Gama actually reached India by sea in 1498, that a steady direct traffic became possible. The Portuguese, those daring navigators who ranged the seas in the sixteenth century, were the first European Power to make permanent settlements. The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580 was one of the chief causes of the ultimate failure of the Portuguese in their attempt to found an Empire in the East. The Dutch, bold sailors and keen traders, devoted their attention chiefly to the spice trade of the Indian Archipelago, where they succeeded in excluding competition. Their settlements on the mainland of India never were important, and offered little hindrance to their French and English rivals in the seventeenth century.

The Honourable East India Company. The British East India Company was an association of traders, formed in 1600. On the last day of that year Queen Elizabeth gave to certain merchants of London a Royal Charter, which authorized them, and none but them, to trade with India. They began business in a warehouse at Surat (on the Tapti, 160 miles north of Bombay), built on land occupied with the sanction of the local Indian prince. The next hundred years saw their trade and factories increase, but they remained practically

without political power. The Surat settlement is thus described by Dr. John Fryer, an English traveller who visited it in 1673 :

'The house the English live in at Surat, is partly the King's (Moghul's) gift, partly hired ; built of stone and excellent timber, with good carving . . . very strong, for that each floor is half a yard thick at least, of the best plastered cement, which is very weighty. . . . The President has spacious lodgings,



BOMBAY FORT FROM THE SEA, 1720

noble rooms for counsel and entertainment, pleasant tanks, yards, and an hummum [Turkish bath] to wash in. . . .

'Here they live (in shipping time) in a continual hurly-burly, the Banyans [native agents] presenting themselves from the hour of ten till noon ; and then afternoon at four till night as if it were an Exchange in every row ; below stairs the packers and warehouse-keepers, together with merchants bringing and receiving musters [samples], make a mere Billingsgate. . . .

'The whole mass of the Company's servants may be comprehended in these classes, viz. merchants, factors, and writers ; some Bluecoat boys also have been entertained

under notion of apprentices for seven years, which being expired, if they can get security, they are capable of employments. The Writers are obliged to serve five years for £10 per annum, giving in bond of £500 for good behaviour, all which time they serve under some of the fore-mentioned offices. After which they commence Factors . . . and lastly Merchants . . . out of whom are chose chiefs of Factories.' [1]

The Moghul Empire. The Moghul Empire began in 1526 with the conquest of Delhi by Baber, a great Tatar warrior. Under him, and under the ablest of his descendants—Akbar, who was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, and even under Aurungzebe (when the Moghul Empire began to decline)—India was, to a large extent, a united country. Aurungzebe died in 1707. In the Moghul Empire the great provinces were held by viceroys and governors under the orders of the Emperor at Agra or Delhi.

With the death of Aurungzebe, the Moghul Empire began to fall to pieces: anarchy and confusion spread over India. The viceroys converted themselves into local sovereigns, and as none had any definite right, internecine wars raged intermittently over all the country. In Central India the Mahratta tribes began to create their system of military States, which were usually little more than armies living by plundering the peaceful population: 'the Indian people were becoming a masterless multitude swaying to and fro in the political storm, and clinging to any power, natural or supernatural, that seemed likely to protect them.' It was in this crisis of Indian history, when the native structure of society was dissolving into atoms, that the English East India Company, bereft of the strong protection which the Moghuls had formerly given to it, began to extend its influence from commerce to politics. That its neighbours should be peaceful and orderly was a vital interest of the Company: otherwise its trade could not be carried on and its factories could not exist. Once involved in Indian politics, the Company

[1] Fryer, *A New Account*, &c., ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, 1909, vol. i, pp. 214–16.

could neither go back, nor stay still. Order and disorder cannot exist side by side. So as the Moghul system dissolved, the Company's predominance advanced, till the British peace reigned throughout the land.

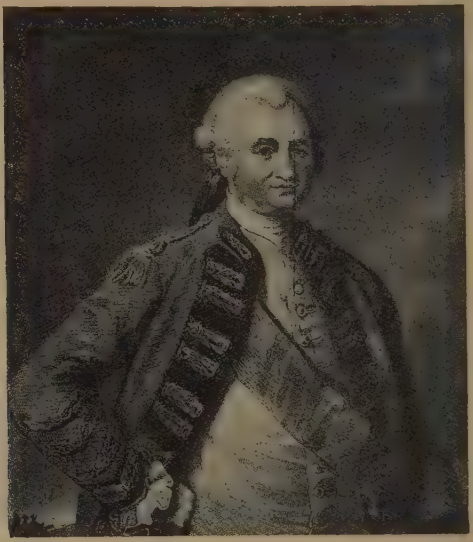
§ 2. Foundation of British India

The British and French Companies. The year 1739 was fateful for three continents. When the over-prosperous and impatient English forced Walpole to declare war on Spain, a struggle for Empire was started between France and Britain, and was continued with brief interruptions for seventy-five years. Europe, India, and North America were the fields of this titanic contest. When the struggle ended at Waterloo France had been made powerless for harm in Europe, and had lost North America, while India had passed almost wholly under British control.

By the year 1739 neither the British nor the French Company had gained much influence in the country. The British held Bombay, Madras, and Fort William near Calcutta. The French held Chandarnagore on the Hooghly, and Pondicherry on the east coast about a hundred miles south of Madras. In 1739 Nadir Shah, the Persian, had invaded India and sacked Delhi. This was the last blow needed to cut the reins of government, still feebly held by the 'Great' Moghul. The Deccan, the southern viceroyalty, became independent under its own 'Nizam', while its eastern province, the Carnatic, assumed practical independence likewise under its 'Nawab'.

The two Companies during the War of the Austrian Succession. When the war with Spain merged into the War of the Austrian Succession, and French and English armies met on the battle-fields of Europe, it was not to be expected that their overseas traders and colonists should remain at peace. In the North American backwoods and on Cape Breton Island they were soon at war. An expedition of New Englanders captured Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton (June 17, 1745). In India fortune went the other way; Labourdonnais,

the governor of Mauritius, came with a squadron of ships and captured Madras. It was in Europe, however, that the fate of India and of the North American colonies was settled. The fighting both in Europe and overseas was indecisive. At



Robert Clive

the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) Louisbourg was exchanged for Madras, and France and England were for a moment at peace officially.

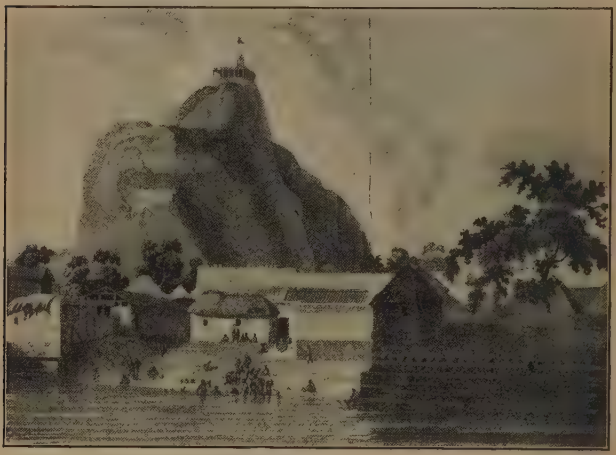
The War of the Coromandel. In India, however, there was no peace. In the Carnatic—the south-eastern or 'Coromandel' coast of the Deccan—two claimants arose for the Nawab's throne. One was called Mohammed Ali, the other,

Chunda Sahib. The French Governor-General of Pondicherry, Joseph, Marquis Dupleix,[1] saw that by supporting one claimant he might gain for France a paramount position in the Carnatic, and might expel the English. He found that the assistance of one or two thousand trained French troops would decide any native battle. So he intervened in the War of the Coromandel (or Carnatic) on the side of Chunda Sahib. The English Company, threatened with destruction (for Dupleix was undermining their influence on every hand) allied themselves with Mohammed Ali. Thus began the action of the English on Indian politics. It was in this unofficial War of the Coromandel that Robert Clive first showed his genius, as may be read in the sober history of Orme, or the more glowing pages of Macaulay's essay.

Clive. Robert Clive was born at Market Drayton in Shropshire on September 29, 1725. His father was a small landed proprietor of an old but undistinguished family. Robert was sent to school at the Merchant Taylors' and Hemel Hempstead and proved 'out of measure addicted to fighting'. When he was eighteen, his family procured for him the post of a 'writer' in the East India Company's service. In 1743 the Company was still only a trading body; and the duties of its writers were purely mercantile—checking invoices, arranging the advances of money to weavers, or to Indian merchants, and, generally, looking after the year's 'investment' of the Company's funds. The young officials were boarded in the 'Writers' Buildings' at Madras; their accommodation was poor, and their pay—about £80 a year—was scarcely able to provide them with clothing and the ordinary comforts necessary in India. Clive's harsh and melancholy nature would have withered under that system, had he not found some solace and refreshment in reading. The Governor had a library and allowed Clive the use of it.

[1] There is a touching and informing account of the career of Dupleix by the descendant of one of his fellow sufferers, Lally Tollendal, in the *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1819).

With Clive, however, any life but a life of action was insupportable. When the War of the Austrian Succession sent ripples of battle from Europe over the Indian Ocean, Clive obtained a temporary commission in the Company's forces, and soon distinguished himself by his physical courage, as well as by his enthusiasm and resourcefulness. The melancholy 'writer' became an alert, clear-sighted, decided



VIEW IN THE FORT OF TRICHINOPOLY

soldier. After the Peace of 1748 he had to go back to the desk again, but soon volunteered for the War of the Coromandel. He was given a Company. At this moment (1751) Dupleix was carrying all before him in the Carnatic. The English candidate for the Nawab's throne—Mohammed Ali—was besieged in Trichinopoly by Chunda Sahib and the French. Clive, however, made a dash at Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, seized it and then held it against all comers. The Sepoys, or Indian soldiers trained in European fashion, who formed this small garrison under Clive, recognized in

him a leader of men ; they endured privation with the simple determination of heroes, and the assaults of the enemy were of no effect. Orme tells how, when food ran short, they offered their rice to Clive and the English soldiers, saying they themselves could live and fight on the water it was boiled in. Against such a spirit, the numbers of Chunda Sahib, the subtle genius of Dupleix, could not prevail. The siege was raised after fifty-three days. The defence of Arcot, in the judgement of the historian, Colonel Malleson, was 'the turning-point in the Eastern career of the English'. Soon the cause of Mohammed Ali triumphed everywhere. The English Company obtained the lead in the Carnatic, and Dupleix was recalled to France. The Seven Years' War ruined his property in India, and he died in poverty in 1763.

The Conquest of Bengal. After a period spent in England, Clive returned to India in 1755 as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort St. David near Madras. Next year Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, a young man about twenty-eight years of age and of dissolute character, descended upon the factory of the Company at Calcutta, and captured the inmates after a brief siege. 'Then was committed that great crime, equally memorable for its singular atrocity, and for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed.'[1] One hundred and forty-six British prisoners were put into a cell which was only twenty feet square. Packed together in this narrow chamber, they suffered awful agonies from thirst and heat, through the summer night. Many lost their self-control and fought like madmen, while their jailors laughed at them through the window-bars. 'At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings.'[2] Only twenty-three of the prisoners survived the horrors of that night (June 21, 1756).

The news of the capture of Calcutta and of the tragedy of the Black Hole reached Madras in August. After two months' delay the Madras Government got together a force of nine hundred English soldiers and fifteen hundred sepoys under

[1] Macaulay, *Essay on Clive.* [2] Ibid.

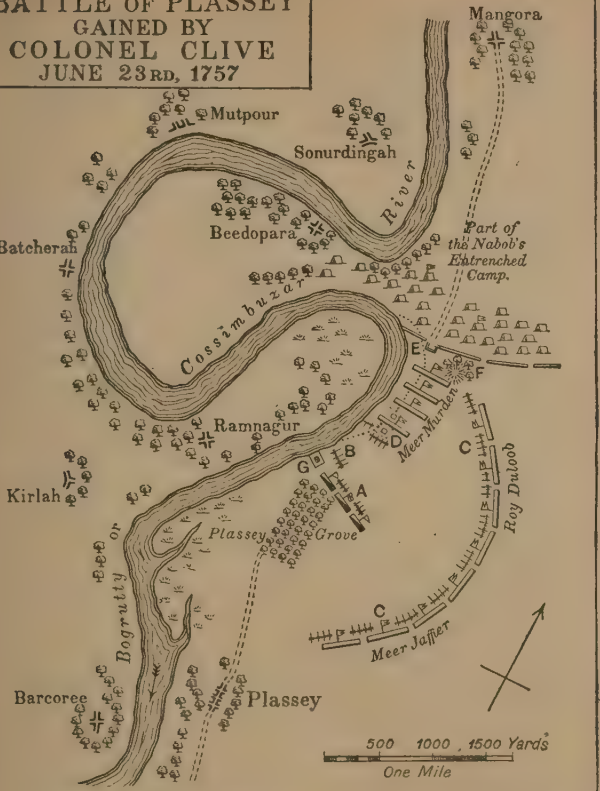
the command of Clive, 'to punish a prince who had more subjects than Lewis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa'.[1] A squadron commanded by Admiral Watson conveyed the expeditionary force to the Hooghly. Some time was spent in negotiations until hostilities were brought on by an ultimatum from Clive. The two armies drew near each other on June 23 (1757) at Plassey. Clive's force, even with all its reinforcements, numbered only about 3,000 men, of whom nearly 1,000 were English. The Nawab had about 50,000 foot and 18,000 cavalry, with 50 heavy guns directed by French officers. The story, although of doubtful authenticity, is well known, how Clive held a Council of War, the only one he ever consulted; how the Council gave its advice for a retreat; and how Clive sat down in the shade of some trees by the camp, to turn the subject over in his mind. At the end of an hour, he is said to have arisen strengthened and refreshed, with the fixed determination of fighting a battle. Such is Orme's account of the decision to which the existence of British India is due.

The battle of Plassey lasted from daybreak until about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Nawab's troops were badly led, and dejected in spirit. Several of his highest officers had treacherously come to an understanding with the enemy. At first, indeed, they gave no open help to Clive, but when his determined attack began to spread confusion among the Nawab's troops, they began to withdraw their contingents. The defection of Mir J'afar completed the discomfiture of Surajah Dowlah's army, and Clive held the field with the loss of only twenty-two soldiers killed. The Nawab fled, and Mir J'afar was placed by Clive on the vacant throne. Some time afterwards Surajah Dowlah was caught and hacked to death by the men of the new Nawab. In February 1760 Clive sailed for home.

Before the Seven Years' War was far advanced in Europe, the French Government made a vigorous effort to conquer

[1] Macaulay, *Essay on Clive.*

BATTLE OF PLASSEY
GAINED BY
COLONEL CLIVE
JUNE 23RD, 1757



A. *Position of the* British Army *at 9 in the Morning.*

B. *Four guns advanced to check the fire of the* French Party *at the tank* D.

C. *The* Nabob's Army.

D. *A Tank from whence the French Party cannonaded till* 3 *in the Afternoon, when part of the* British Army *took Post there, and the Enemy retired within their Entrenched Camp.*

E & F. *A Redoubt and mound taken by Assault at* ½ *past* 4, *and which completed the Victory.*

G. *The Nabob's Hunting House. The dotted line* BE *shows the encroachment of the River since the Battle.*

the English power in India. A distinguished officer of Irish descent in the French service, the Count de Lally Tollendal, was sent to Pondicherry, with a well-supplied force. He is described by a contemporary as a man of ' a savage ferocity ', and ' a contempt for every person that moves in a sphere below that of a general '. Lally's attack upon the English in Madras in 1758 was foiled by the splendid defence of Colonel Stringer Lawrence ; and in 1760 he was signally defeated by Colonel Eyre Coote at Wandiwash. After sustaining a long siege in Pondicherry with the utmost heroism (May 1760 to January 1761), Lally was taken prisoner by the English forces. He was sent back to France in 1763 at the close of the Seven Years' War, and, after two and a half years' confinement in the Bastille, was most unjustly executed as a traitor.

The military history of British India is the story of great things done by small bodies of soldiers led by officers who, unknown though many of them remain, showed the most heroic qualities in courage, endurance, self-sacrifice, and devotion to duty. In September 1764, shortly after the establishing of the British power in Bengal, the Nawab of Oudh, supported by the Emperor of Delhi, and the Nawab of Bengal who had turned against the English, came with a large army against the Company. They were met by Major Hector Munro at Buxar on the Ganges ; Munro had 7,072 men (857 being European) against about 50,000. The fight lasted from nine in the morning till noon, and then the enemy broke and fled. ' The victory, which was absolutely decisive, completed the work of Plassey.' [1] The Emperor of Delhi accepted British protection. The Nawab of Bengal ceased to have any power in the country. Oudh next year (1765) entered into alliance with the Company, and remained henceforward most closely connected with the British ' Raj '.

The Government of Bengal. When Clive quitted India for the second time, in 1760, he left the Company in the possession of power without responsibility. It controlled Bengal

[1] Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (1919), p. 501.

through the Nawab, but was still only a trading corporation. The agents of the Company, poorly paid, were permitted to make the bulk of their income by trading on their own account. They could exercise power through the nominal government of the Nawab, and yet had none of the responsibility attaching to officials in a regular civil service. It is to this period that the abuses belong, from which at other times the British administrators in India have been free.

In 1763 Clive, now Baron Clive of Plassey, returned to Bengal as Governor, and at once took the steps necessary to produce honourable dealing by the British agents in India : he absolutely forbade the officials of the Company to engage in trade on their own account ; and (so that no excuse for private trading should be left to them) he increased their salaries by using the proceeds of the salt monopoly for this purpose. At the same time he obtained a grant from the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, to allow the Company to collect all the revenues of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa ; and, as compensation, he arranged that the Company should pay to the Nawab a fixed annual sum. The Nawab thus became merely a wealthy pensioner, and passes out of history. The East India Company from that time was forced to take up the work of political administration. Henceforth its functions were of two kinds ; firstly, to manage the export trade of India ; and secondly, to administer the country. The second function soon became the more important and in the end superseded the other.

From Clive's first visit to India (1743), says Macaulay, dates the renown of the English arms in the East. From his second visit (1755) dates the political ascendancy of the English. From his third visit (1765) dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern Empire.

The crisis in British India. When Warren Hastings, the most able official in the Company's service, was made Governor of Bengal in 1772, two things in particular had to be done : the attacks of formidable Indian Powers had to be met ; and

a regular civil administration had to be created out of an organization which had been constructed simply for trading purposes. These two things Warren Hastings, amid incredible difficulties, successfully accomplished.

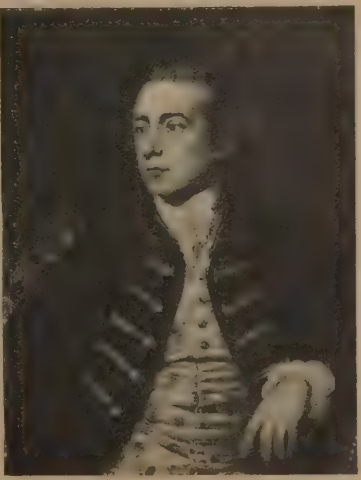
There have been three especially severe crises in the history of British India; one in the time of Warren Hastings, between 1772 and 1783; one in the time of the Marquess Wellesley, between 1800 and 1805; the third in 1857 was the Mutiny. In the Mutiny, however, the final result was never in doubt, although the personal fate of the British residents in India at the moment was at stake. In the time of Wellesley, too, it was not so much the existence of British India as the extent of it which had to be fought for; but in the time of Warren Hastings it was nothing more nor less than the existence of British India which was in jeopardy. The Company's military and administrative power was still weak; while the Mahratta Confederation and Haidar Ali of Mysore might, with a lesser man than Warren Hastings in India, have swept the English into the sea.

The Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were all supposed to be under a nominal sovereign called the Raja of Satara, who was indeed little better than a prisoner. The Raja's Prime Minister, the Peshwa, had become practically sovereign at Poona, and had in fact founded a regular dynasty of hereditary Prime Ministers. On the outskirts of the Peshwa's State, other Mahratta States were being founded, like those of Sindia and Holkar.

The Mahratta soldiers lived by levying plunder or taxation on the countries they had conquered, or on their neighbours. The Mahratta warrior did no peaceful work; in general, a musket, a lance, and a horse were his only property. To maintain their military hordes, the Mahratta chiefs made regular incursions into the provinces of Central India, and levied blackmail on the peaceful inhabitants. A number of clever Brahman officials kept the accounts at Poona, and gave some sort of semblance of civil administration to this very

loose State or confederation of military chiefs. Such a plundering State was bound, of course, to come into collision with the Company, whose interest was commerce and the suppression of violence and robbery.

The Mahratta War. The First Mahratta War began with a rash and unauthorized act of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency. The authority of the Governor-General of Bengal over the other Presidencies was then vague and not clearly recognized. In 1774 the Bombay officials, without consulting Bengal, espoused the cause of a Mahratta pretender to the Peshwa-ship. They dispatched a military force against Poona. The Mahrattas met it at the battle of Arras in Gujarat; victory remained with the British only at a very heavy cost (1775). Some complicated negotiations followed, Hastings at this time being involved in a serious quarrel with his council in Bengal. When he recovered power, he retrieved the British reputation in Central India by sending Colonel Goddard with a force of 6,000 fighting men right across from Bengal to Bombay. This march, admirably conducted, was followed in the beginning of the next year (1779) by the capture of Ahmadabad by Goddard; but the most brilliant exploit was the capture of Gwalior (one of the finest fortresses, natural and artificial, in India) by Major Popham (August 1780). This operation was carried out at



WARREN HASTINGS AS A YOUNG MAN

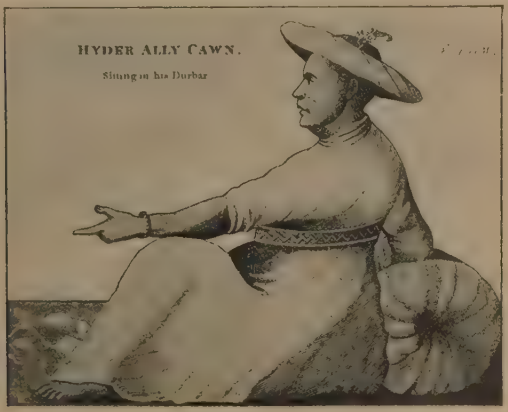
night, without the loss of a single man ; the news of it went like magic throughout India. In 1782 the Treaty of Salbai was concluded with the Mahrattas. They were not forced to accept the pretender to the Peshwa-ship, and Bombay was gratified by the cession of the little island of Salsette.

The Mysore War. It was not the Mahratta War alone which threatened the existence of the British in India ; it was combined with a war against Haidar Ali of Mysore. Haidar

THE FORT OF GWALIOR FROM THE NORTH-WEST

Ali, who was born in 1722, had started his active career as an officer in the service of the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. Becoming a successful general, he had gradually got all the power of the Mysore State into his own hands, and had then displaced the old dynasty. Haidar, an able and energetic soldier, was a man of shrewd, penetrating mind. Colonel Wilks, who was Resident at Mysore from 1803 to 1808, and the author of an old-fashioned and most interesting history of Mysore, gives many instances of Haidar's shrewd sayings. One of the finest is: 'The defeat of many Brathwaites and Baillies will not destroy them [the English]. I can ruin

their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea.' So said Haidar on his death-bed. He had won a notable victory over a British force under Colonel Baillie, and another over Colonel Brathwaite (whose contingent was destroyed); but Haidar knew that the sea was Britain's, and that as long as this was so, she was invincible. Able and shrewd as he was, tolerant too, in religion (he was a Mussulman himself), he was no better than a brute when his passions were roused.



HAIDAR ALI

He punished one of his Prime Ministers, Kandē Rās, by imprisonment for life in a cage.

The great menace to the existence of the British in India came after 1777. In that year General Burgoyne capitulated to the American General Gates at Saratoga Springs in the colony of New York. The war in America turned against England, and France immediately joined the insurgents. It was not to America only, however, that her fleets and soldiers were sent; French officers came to India to rouse the princes against the Company, and a fleet under France's best admiral appeared in the Indian Ocean. Hard pressed on land, in

danger of losing communication by sea, Warren Hastings may indeed be said to have had his ' back to the wall '.

In 1780 Haidar descended upon the Carnatic with 80,000 men, among whom were a number of capable French officers. General Munro, the hero of Buxar, had now lost all energy, and allowed a body of 3,700 Company troops under Colonel Baillie to be isolated and cut down near Conjeveram. The Madras authorities miserably failed to deal with the awful invasion, and the weight of all the duties which other people should have performed fell upon Hastings. Harassed with overwork, in straits for money, men, and supplies, he got together a small army, and sent it, poorly supplied with transport and equipment, under Eyre Coote to Madras. For months the veteran general, who was often too ill to ride on horseback, waged a war of defence against Haidar. On July 1, 1781, he got the chance of a decisive fight at Porto Novo on the Madras coast. Haidar was defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. Another battle at Pollilore completed the defeat of the Mysore forces; Madras was saved, and, with it, India.

Hughes and Suffren. Meanwhile Admiral Pierre André, Bailli de Suffren, had been waging an honourable fight for command of the sea with Sir Edward Hughes, the English admiral. Suffren was a fine sailor, and his squadron was the most powerful which France had equipped for the East Indies. Hughes, although not brilliant, was sound, capable, and determined. He could not destroy Suffren's fleet, but, in five separate actions severely handled the French, and kept his own fleet in being. Suffren nearly starved Madras, which began to suffer from actual famine; and yet he could not wrest command of the sea from the unbeaten Hughes, whose flag was still flying at the end of the war. These operations, although not on the grand scale of European warfare, were so important in the world-wide struggle for command of the sea that the naval historian Mahan devotes a whole chapter to them in his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*.

Haidar died in December 1782. Next year the French and English made peace (Treaty of Versailles, 1783); India was saved for the British, though the American colonies were lost.

The Regulating Act. It was during the period of Warren Hastings that Parliament began to take the keen interest in India, of which record has been left not merely in the speeches

AN EARLY ENGLISH TRAVELLER. An Indian Portrait

of Burke and the two famous essays of Macaulay, but also in the Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons. The work of Select Committees in general has a great and deserved reputation in English history, and the Reports on Indian affairs are no exception. The Fifth Report (published in 1812) is full of sound judgement and is a priceless mine of information on the social, judicial, and financial life of India in the time of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis.

Macaulay says that the attention of Parliament was directed to Indian affairs by the sight of men returning from that

country with stupendous fortunes. These were the so-called **nabobs,** so often represented in literature as being peppery, liverish, vulgar, and incredibly rich, East India traders or officials. Whatever the reason, Parliament, when Lord North was Prime Minister, did become most attentive to Indian affairs; and in 1772 two Select Committees were appointed to inquire into the condition of the Company and of British affairs in the East. The Government too became interested, and no wonder, as it was receiving £400,000 a year from the Company, a tribute used to lighten the expenses of the English taxpayer. This tribute, it must be noted, was only paid from 1765 to 1770, the year of the great famine in Bengal, when it stopped and has never been renewed.

Till 1773 the East India Company had no Parliamentary title. Its charter had been renewed from time to time by the Crown, with which the Company negotiated as one great Corporation with another. In 1773, however, Lord North's Ministry renewed the Company's charter by Act of Parliament, and changed its Constitution, thus affirming the right of Parliament to control all the British possessions in India. This Act—Lord North's Regulating Act, as it is generally called—is the basis of the Constitution of British India to-day. It established a Governor-General of Bengal with four councillors. The Governor-General was to have £25,000 a year, the councillors £10,000 each, and they were forbidden to trade or to receive presents. A Supreme Court of Judicature was also established, with a Chief Justice, on a salary of £8,000 a year, and three Judges with £6,000 a year each. The Act thus aimed at getting well-paid officials, who should give their whole time to their work, without fear or favour. The Bengal Presidency was declared to have supremacy over the other two Presidencies. The defects of the Act lay in not defining what this supremacy meant; and also in putting the Governor-General in a weak position in his Council, for he had only one vote, like the other councillors, with a casting vote when they were equally divided. Thus the strong man

in a turbulent land might have his hands tied, as Warren Hastings's were tied, by factious colleagues. Not till 1780, when the most troublesome member of his Council, Philip Francis, retired to England after fighting a duel with Hastings, did the Governor-General have peace in his Council.

The work of Warren Hastings was not merely to save British India from being overwhelmed by the Mahrattas and Haidar Ali. He also gave the country, in so far as it came under British rule, something like a regular administration. The Company, in the words of the Fifth Report, had resolved '*to stand forth as Diwan*'—that is, to become the collector of revenue in Bengal, but it had no real control over the expenditure. Hastings remedied this; he transferred the revenue affairs from the old Mohammadan capital at Murshidabad to Calcutta, which thus became the capital of British India till 1912, when Delhi took its place. The careful, efficient, all-pervading administration, which impresses all visitors to India, really began with Hastings; but in his time a vast amount of the work fell on his shoulders alone. He worked long, all day and every day, only leaving Calcutta, even at the worst seasons, on official business. He learned Bengali, Persian, and Urdu, in order to understand the people he governed. He encouraged travel, learning, and education. He was fearless, honest, lofty, a great man, worthy of the English name.

Macaulay's Essays. Macaulay's two essays on Indian History—*Clive* and *Warren Hastings*—are splendid works, which cast a brilliant light over a country too little known to Englishmen. Too easily, however, he accepted the charges against Hastings, which are chiefly four—the Rohilla War, the trial of Nundkomar, the affair of Chait Singh, and the fining of the Begams of Oudh.

The Rohilla War. The Rohillas were an Afghan tribe who had occupied for a few years the country on the north of Oudh between the Upper Ganges and the Himalayas. In order to preserve their territory from Mahratta invasions, they had made a defensive treaty with the Nawab Vizir

of Oudh, agreeing to pay a subsidy in return for military help (1772). In 1773 the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, and the army of Oudh threatened war with them on behalf of the Rohillas. The Mahrattas were forced to withdraw, but the Rohillas, although they had thus been saved, refused to pay the subsidy for the assistance received. The Nawab asked Hastings, in accordance with treaty engagements, to co-operate in compelling the Rohillas to keep their bargain. Hastings accordingly lent an English brigade, and in 1774 Rohilcund was invaded; the Rohillas resisted with the utmost courage, but were defeated and their land was annexed to Oudh. The result was to give Oudh, the ally of the English, a safe frontier on the north. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that this was done by shedding the blood of the Rohillas and by taking away their independence, although by their bad faith they had brought their fate upon themselves. Macaulay's impassioned description of the devastation of Rohilcund is not borne out by the facts.

Nundkomar. Macaulay next makes a severe charge against Hastings for the trial and execution of Nundkomar. The truth is simply that Nundkomar, a Brahman of bad character, had forged a letter to show that Hastings took bribes. It was not for this forgery, however, that he was tried in the Supreme Court under the Presidency of Sir Elijah Impey, but on a charge brought by a private person, arising out of an old law-suit. This had no connexion whatever with Hastings. Nundkomar was given a very fair trial for eight days (June 9–16, 1776). In the height of the Calcutta summer, the jury and judges sat from 8 a.m. till late at night; in the end Nundkomar was clearly convicted of forgery by the jury; and execution followed inevitably on the verdict. Everything goes to show that Impey was a just, laborious judge. British India owes to him, among other things, the compiling of a code of law.

Chait Singh. Chait Singh, Raja of Benares, was a great landowner in a high feudal position, but was not a sovereign prince. In 1778 and in 1779 Hastings made him pay

two special contributions of about £50,000 each to help towards meeting the heavy expenditure incurred during the Mahratta War. In 1780 the Raja refused to pay any more, and revolted. The revolt was quelled, and a new Raja was put in Chait Singh's place. There is no doubt that the Company was justified in asking for special war-contributions from the Raja, and the amount asked for is said by competent authorities not to have been excessive.

The Manny Begams. The Nawab Vizir of Oudh received the support of a brigade of the Company's troops to guard his territories. In return he was supposed to pay a subsidy, which, however, was frequently in arrear. In 1781, the Mahratta and Mysore Wars having made a great drain on the Company's revenue, Hastings told the Nawab Vizir to get some of the required money from the royal treasure which had been left in the hands of his mother and grandmother, who were known as the Begams (princesses) of Oudh. It appears that some violence was used on the Begams' servants to make them produce the treasure. Hastings may be censurable in allowing the Nawab Vizir to employ such means as he chose, but the amount of violence used must have been slight, for the Begams and their eunuchs bore Hastings no ill will afterwards.

After Hastings retired from the position of Governor-General in 1785, he was impeached in Parliament for certain of his acts done in India. The trial lasted from 1788 to 1795, and in the end he was acquitted. The great pro-consul lived meanwhile the quiet and dignified life of a country gentleman, on the small estate of Daylesford in the Cotswolds, which as a boy he had dreamed of buying back for his family. He died at Daylesford, on August 22, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

§ 3. Cornwallis and Wellesley

Pitt's India Act. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, while establishing the principle that Parliament was supreme

over the Company and its territories, had set up no permanent organ of the Imperial Government to control India. In 1784, however, Pitt had a Bill passed through Parliament, establishing a *President and Commissioners for the Affairs of India*. The Commissioners—commonly known as the Board of Control—scarcely ever met, but the President of the Board, who was always a Cabinet Minister, became the London head of British India. When the Company was abolished in 1858 the President of the Board of Control was replaced by the Secretary of State for India.

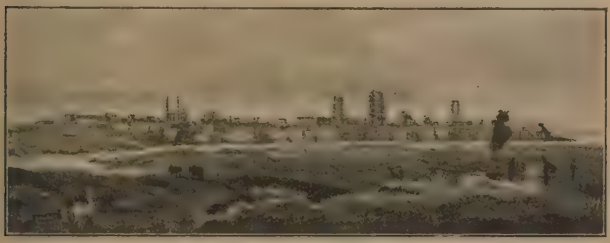
TIPPU SULTAN

Lord Cornwallis. In 1786 Charles Cornwallis, 2nd Earl Cornwallis, went to India as Governor-General, and is thus the first of the long series of distinguished noblemen who have governed the Dependency. Except Warren Hastings, Sir John Shore, and Sir John Lawrence, no commoner, no member of the Civil Service, has been Governor-General, unless for brief periods to fill an unexpectedly vacant period between one nobleman Governor-General and another.

Cornwallis was nearly 48 years old when he went to India. Till then he was known only as a soldier, having fought well in the American War; after many successes he had been forced to capitulate at Yorktown in 1781—a disaster which practically ended the war. He was a man of perfect physical and moral courage; and in India, as throughout his career, was conscientious, honourable, laborious, and self-sacrificing.

One of the first things he did on becoming Governor-General was to insist that the Civil Servants should be adequately paid, and should be at the same time absolutely forbidden to make money in any other way. The modern type of Indian Civil Servant, well-trained, well paid, and efficient, may be said to date from this time.

In spite of his honest desire for peace, Cornwallis was forced, in consequence of the invasion of our ally Travancore by Tippu Sultan, son of Haidar Ali, to make war on Mysore. Want of supplies prevented him from besieging Seringapatam, but he signally defeated the Mysore army, and deprived



NORTH-EAST VIEW OF SERINGAPATAM

Tippu of half his dominions (1792). It is for his land policy, however, that Cornwallis is chiefly remembered.

Permanent Settlement. The revenue of the State in India—whether of the Moghul Empire, of the British 'Raj', or of the many native States—has always rested chiefly on the land. Land was formerly regarded as belonging to the State, although occupied and cultivated by peasants who were not disturbed so long as they paid their tax. This tax was generally about one-fourth of the produce, sometimes more; and it was the only form of rent which existed in India. The Moghul's officials valued each peasant's land at a certain sum, and took a certain proportion of this value every year. A fresh valuation was made from time to time, after five, ten, or even fifty or seventy years. To save trouble substantial local

people were employed to collect the revenue and allowed to keep 2½ per cent. of it for themselves. These local collectors were called zemindars.

When the East India Company stood forth as 'Diwan', it inherited the Moghul system of land-revenue in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Warren Hastings had a summary valuation made of the land-holdings, to last for five years. To value the holdings fairly was a work of extreme difficulty and complexity; naturally conditions changed every few years—some land might become more valuable, some less. Cornwallis, when he came to deal with the matter, proposed two things: firstly, to treat the zemindars as the proprietors or landlords of the areas in which they had collected the land-revenue; and secondly, to value all the holdings for taxation once and for all. Sir John Shore, one of the ablest of the Company's Civil Servants and afterwards Governor-General from 1795 to 1798, pointed out the unreasonableness of making a hasty *permanent* settlement, but Cornwallis, supported by the British ministry, had made up his mind. He thought that the landholders—both zemindars and peasants—would be induced to spend money and labour on improving their land all the more if they knew that the increased yield would go to themselves and not to the State treasury. So the Permanent Settlement was made (1793). The land was necessarily valued at a low figure, because the famine of 1770 and other causes had temporarily reduced its value. The zemindars became a class of wealthy proprietors paying a comparatively small fixed rent to the State, with a permanent and legal hold on the land, but it is only in comparatively recent years that the customary rights of the peasant cultivators have been properly secured. The State has been deprived of much revenue, which it ought to get from the increasing value of the land, but which instead it must make up from other sources. The mistake of the Permanent Settlement has been generally recognized and has not been repeated in any other province.

Sir John Shore. Lord Cornwallis left India in October 1795 with the reputation of being a straightforward, hard-working, high-minded public servant. He was succeeded by Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a distinguished Indian

Civil Servant, although not a success as Governor-General. The Company was under a moral obligation to support the Nizam of Hyderabad, yet Shore allowed him to be attacked and defeated by the Mahrattas at the battle of Kharda in 1795. Shore had honestly convinced himself that the words of the treaty with Hyderabad did not absolutely bind him to take sides in this instance. Nevertheless, he would have done better had he given the Nizam the benefit of the doubt and shown the generosity as well as the strength of Britain. The next Governor-General had to pay for Shore's mistake by meeting an over-strong Mahratta confederation.

The Marquess Wellesley. Richard Colley Wellesley was born at Dangan Castle, County Meath, on June 20, 1760. His father Garret, second Baron Mornington in the peerage of Ireland, died at the age of 46; his mother, a daughter of Arthur Hill Trevor, Lord Dungannon, lived to be ninety, and to see four out of her six sons become famous servants of the State—Richard, who became Marquess Wellesley, Arthur Duke of Wellington, Henry Lord Cowley (Ambassador at Paris), and William Baron Maryborough (Chief Secretary of Ireland).

All the Wellesley boys went to Eton. Richard started at Harrow, but was withdrawn after taking part in the barring out of the new head master, Mr. Heath. So from Harrow he went to Eton, where a beautiful portrait of him as a boy, by Romney, is still to be seen in the Provost's Lodgings. In 1778 Wellesley went into residence at Christ Church, Oxford. There he won the Chancellor's prize for Latin Verse, and became a Student (the Christ Church equivalent for Fellow) of the House. He was a brilliant classical scholar, and all through life read with close attention the Latin and Greek writers; their influence on his style may be clearly seen in his elaborate splendidly written dispatches. Before going to India as Governor-General in 1798, he had studied Eastern affairs for years; no one ever went to a great position with a better intellectual equipment than did Wellesley. His big

ideas, his enthusiasm, his extraordinary industry, made him an exceptional man in every way. He was noble, dignified, and somewhat haughty; his high manner, especially his rather contemptuous treatment of the East India Company directors, frequently caused offence, but no one could deny that he was a great statesman and a magnificent Governor-General.

Wellesley's work in India may be summarized under three heads: the extension of the Company's political influence by means of *subsidiary alliances*; the overthrow of Sultan Tippu's cruel and aggressive government at Mysore; and the shattering of the Mahratta Confederacy.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

The Subsidiary Alliances. The British power in India, and the existence of peace and quietness over the whole land, depend partly upon the direct administration of the Crown, and partly on a series of treaties concluded with some hundreds of native princes and rulers. Such treaties existed before the time of Wellesley, who extended and improved the system. His method was to make a defensive treaty with a powerful Indian prince, to give him the support of a certain number of trained soldiers under British officers, and to receive in return just so much territory as would supply enough revenue to support the regiment or brigade. Such subsidiary treaties he made with Oudh, the large native State which covered the northern

frontier of Bengal; with Hyderabad, which he brought back into the Company's close alliance after Shore's unfortunate neglect of it; with Mysore after he had overthrown Tippu and restored the old dynasty; and, finally, with the premier Mahratta power, the Peshwa of Poona, after the defeat of the Mahrattas at Assaye. This system of subsidiary alliances helped to spread peace over the whole peninsula. The objection to it was that it took away from each allied native prince the responsibility of securing his own peace and order. To-day the system has been improved; the Native Rulers have their own military contingents and manage their own police, with the advice of a British Resident.

Mysore, 1799. Haidar Ali's son Tippu, who succeeded his father in December 1782, hated the English, and was determined to have no peace with them. He entered into an alliance with the French Republic, which was at this time engaged in war with England, and received French officers into his army; in 1792, however, he was defeated by Cornwallis (p. 643). Wellesley demanded that he should dismiss these officers, and on Tippu's refusal sent an army into Mysore. Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippu, fighting bravely at a gate of the town, was killed. Some of the Mysore territory was given to the Nizam, some was annexed to the British dominion, and the rest was restored to the old Hindu dynasty which Haidar Ali had dispossessed.

The Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were still the leading power in Central India, and if they had remained quiet no one would have disturbed them there. Unfortunately the Mahratta social and political system did not permit of this, for they lived only by plunder and the levy of blackmail upon their neighbours. It was Wellesley's object to induce the Mahratta States to enter into subsidiary treaties with the Company, so that they should receive a British garrison and give up their predatory habits. The premier Mahratta State still had its centre at Poona under the Peshwa. The other two chief Mahratta States were Sindia's, with its capital at Gwalior,

and Holkar's, with its capital at Indore. These States had no fixed boundaries. In 1802 Holkar and the Peshwa quarrelled; a battle took place outside Poona, and Holkar's irregular horse swept the Poona battalions off the field. The Peshwa fled to Bombay for protection, and was glad to sign a subsidiary treaty, the famous Treaty of Bassein, December 31, 1802. A British force was stationed within his territory, and a British adviser guided his affairs. It is from the Treaty of Bassein that the substantial supremacy of the British over India may be dated.

Sindia, however, was not going tamely to see the British gain control of all Central India. He had a fine army of about 50,000 men, well trained by regular French officers whom he had taken into his service. He had actually occupied Delhi and kept the 'pageant' Moghul emperor for his own purposes. Together with the Raja of Nagpore, another formidable Mahratta chief, Sindia, was threatening the frontier of the Nizam of Hyderabad, when General Arthur Wellesley, the Marquess Wellesley's famous brother, told the Mahratta chiefs that they must retire. Their refusal brought about a swift campaign, concluded by the victory of Assaye (September 1803) over Sindia, and of Argaum (November) over the Nagpore Raja. Meanwhile, farther north, General Lake was advancing on the contingents of Sindia which were defending Delhi. In November, at Aligarh and Laswari, he defeated them in hard-fought actions, in which the Mahrattas displayed all their best fighting qualities. Delhi was taken; the Moghul emperor was brought under the control of the British again; Sindia was made to cede his fortresses and to give his adhesion to the Treaty of Bassein.

Holkar, who more than any other chief had kept up the ancient predatory ways, and the swift irregular fighting methods of the Mahrattas, was still defiant. He was very difficult to bring to bay; and the army which pursued him was never safe from some terrible surprise. It was by such a surprise attack that Colonel Monson's column was all but

annihilated in his retreat from the Mukandwara Pass in Malwa. General Lake, however, carried on the campaign against him with more caution throughout the autumn of 1804; and although he failed in the assault on Bhurtpore (the famous fortress city of Holkar's ally), he wore down Holkar's resistance, and compelled him too, at last, to come into the subsidiary system.

MĀHĀDAJI SINDIA

The results of Wellesley's Administration. The Marquess Wellesley left India in July 1805. His work was undoubtedly a great achievement. He had extended the British power over Mysore, as well as over large parts of the Mahratta country; and had confirmed it in Hyderabad and Oudh. He had utterly broken and expelled the dangerous French influence, and prevented Bonaparte's grandiose Asiatic schemes from having any chance of success. He had helped to bring

forth the military genius of his great soldier brother, and had gathered round himself a band of able Civil Servants, like the future Lord Metcalfe, whom he trained in the higher flights of administration. Splendid in deed and in word, he was one of the most magnificent of England's governors, a worthy ruler of that teeming continent, the most varied, the most romantic, the most opulent, under the British flag.

BHURTPORE FORT

The last years of Struggle with Napoleon. When the Marquess Wellesley left India, Europe was still convulsed with the great Napoleonic wars, although these had been finally prevented from spreading towards India. The aged Cornwallis, who was sent out to succeed Wellesley, with instructions to adopt a strictly pacific policy, held the Governor-Generalship for a brief and inglorious two months. His successor, Sir George Barlow, a civil servant, has been called 'the meanest of the Governors-General', and the epithet is not undeserved, although the main lines of his

policy were prescribed from London. During his period of nineteen months in office, the Mahratta States were again allowed to get out of hand. Under Lord Minto, however, a more energetic, though at the same time cautious policy, was resumed. Minto, as Sir Gilbert Elliot, had gained experience, both in the House of Commons and in foreign affairs, having been Governor of the Protectorate of Corsica from 1794 to 1796 during the British occupation, as well as Minister-Plenipotentiary at Vienna. In India he dealt successfully with trouble which had arisen both inside and outside the British territory. A terrible mutiny of Sepoys at Vellore in Sir George Barlow's time had resulted in the massacre of two companies of white soldiers (July 10, 1806). Lord Minto settled this difficulty by a judicious combination of firmness and moderation. Next, the great Sikh power of Ranjit Singh threatened the peace of British India, but by skilful diplomacy (Treaty of Amritsar, April 25, 1809), the Governor-General induced him to withdraw his forces to the Sutlej, which remained the frontier till the extinction of the Sikh State. In 1811 came Lord Minto's most brilliant exploit, the expedition to Java, the magnificent Dutch island which Napoleon had annexed. The Governor-General himself accompanied the expeditionary force. On August 28 Batavia was stormed by troops which Colonel Gillespie (a hero who had been chiefly instrumental in suppressing the Vellore rebellion) personally led. Java was then taken over by the British administration, and put under Stamford Raffles as Governor, whose régime proved to be an unqualified success. The wealth of the country and the social condition of the people had made immense progress by the time the island was handed back to the Dutch (1815).

After Lord Minto came the Earl of Moira (afterwards Lord Hastings) as Governor-General (1813). He soon found occasion to exercise the distinguished military gifts which he had shown over thirty years earlier in the Carolinas (see p. 526). The Gurkhas of Nepaul were giving great trouble on the

Northern frontier of Bengal, and in 1814 a regular war took place. The British at first suffered considerable disasters, and Colonel Gillespie was killed in a rash attack on a Gurkha stockade. In 1815–16, however, separate operations conducted by General David Ochterlony and Colonel Nicholls forced the Gurkhas to sign the Treaty of Sagauli (March 1816), by which they ceded a strip of territory which safeguarded Bengal, and accepted a British Resident at Katmandu. Since then Great Britain and Nepaul have been friends; Gurkhas have freely joined the Indian army and form some of its most renowned regiments.

Besides dealing with Nepaul, the Marquess of Hastings had to settle with the Mahrattas, and their allies, the Pindaris. The Pindaris were hordes of plunderers who had arisen in recent years amid the disorders of Central India, and they spread disorder far and wide, and especially in Malwa and Rajputana. Many of these freebooters were Mahrattas; men of all classes and religions, however, might join the Pindari bands. These bands followed each their chosen leader, and are said to have included between 20,000 and 30,000 men in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Peshwa, the Bhonsla of Nagpore, Holkar, and Sindia were not free from complicity with these robbers. When Sir George Barlow was Governor-General no attempt was made to check them, and even Lord Minto did nothing to stop their ravages. Lord Hastings, however, dealt seriously with the problem, which was all the more pressing as the Pindaris had, since the year 1812, been making incursions into the Company's territory.

In the year 1817 Lord Hastings set on foot an army of 120,000 troops, of whom about 13,000 were British soldiers. This army was divided into a northern and a southern corps. The northern corps under Hastings himself was to close upon the Pindaris from the side of Bengal, the southern under General Hislop was to come up from the Deccan. The operations were completely successful, and by the early

months of 1817 all the Pindari bands had been rounded up and destroyed.

The Peshwa, Baji Rao, had, meanwhile, in spite of the Treaty of Bassein (p. 649), taken the opportunity of the Pindari war once more to challenge the British rule. He was met and overthrown at the battle of Ashti (February 20, 1818). The position of Peshwa was abolished and his dominions annexed to the Company's territory. Baji Rao spent the rest of his days as a wealthy pensioner at Cawnpore; his son was the infamous Nana Sahib.

Two months before the battle of Ashti, the forces of the Bhonsla, who had begun the war by an attack upon the British Resident at Nagpore, were defeated outside that city on December 16, 1817. The Bhonsla was deposed and that part of his territories which lay north of the Narbada was annexed. On December 20 (1817) General Hislop overthrew Holkar's army at the battle of Mahidpur.

The Mahratta power was thus completely broken. The States of Sindia and Holkar have survived, and their rulers are powerful princes. Satara and Nagpore, the other two Mahratta principalities which remained after the war of 1817, were annexed.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

TABLE TO SHOW THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I.

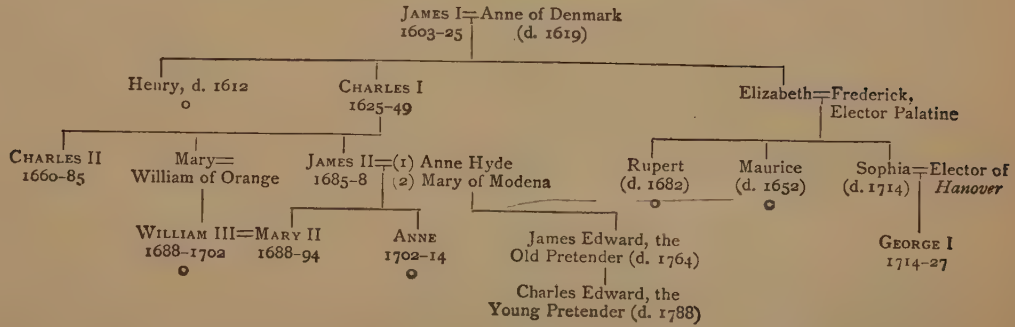
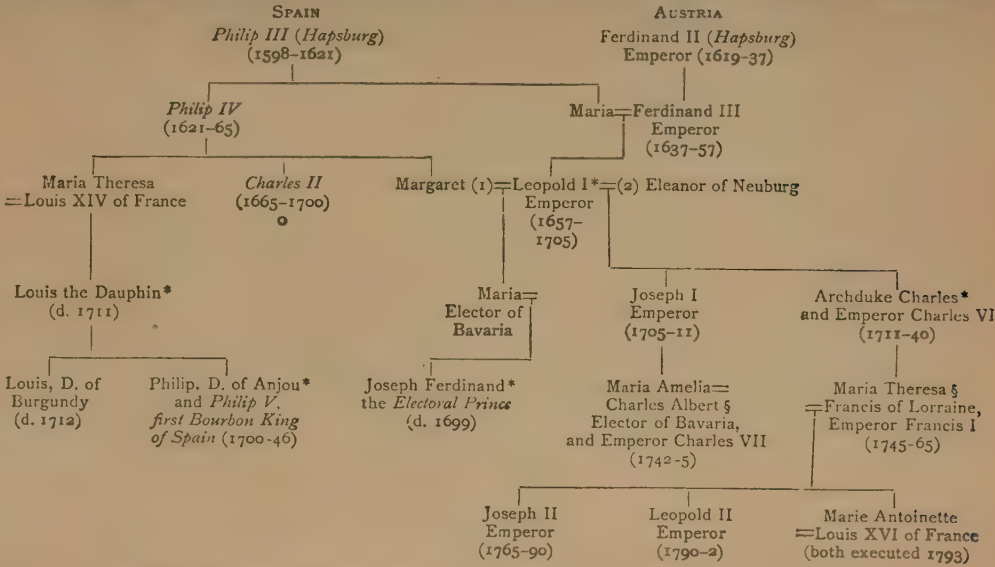


TABLE TO SHOW:—

(1) THE HAPSBURG EMPERORS AND SPANISH KINGS;

(2) THE CLAIMANTS IN THE WARS OF THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN SUCCESSIONS.



Note.—Kings of **Spain** *in Italics.* Claimants to Spanish throne *. Claimants to Austrian throne §.

TABLE TO SHOW:—

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(2) THE BOURBON KINGS OF SPAIN (1700–1868).

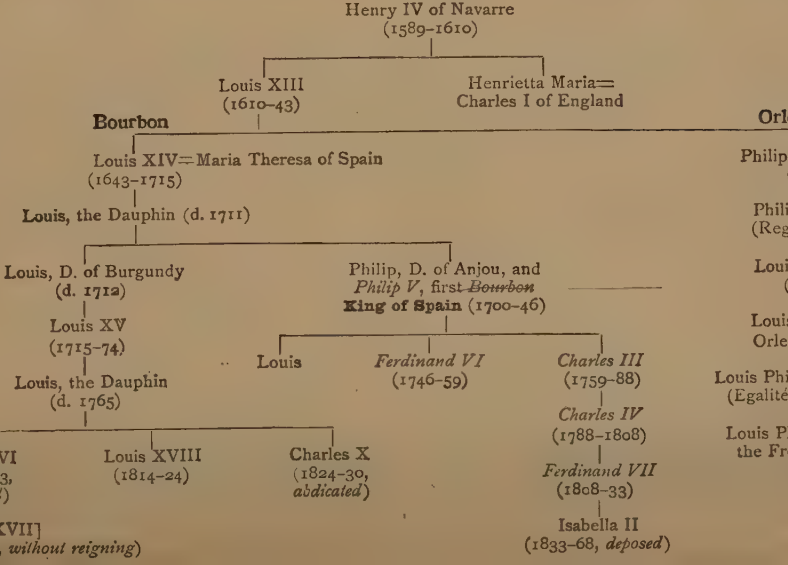
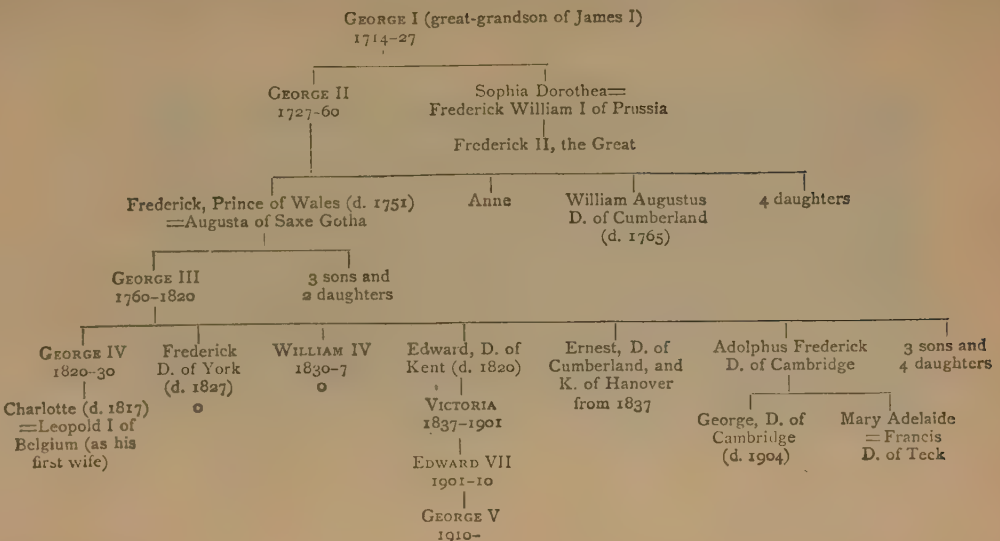


TABLE TO SHOW THE HOUSE OF HANOVER OR BRUNSWICK.



THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT IN
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